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### MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INOUIRY

IN THE MATTER OF THE APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

(a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A

RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS

CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and

(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONM ENT OF THE ABOVE PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.
November 17, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

Volume 202

CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS STUDY LTD. NOV 2 3 1976 LIBRARY



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It's significant, I think, point out that the three areas that Ar. Templeton

fisheries, sawage and frost heave, were incidentall

three areas in which the substantial drafts of sur

ARGUMENT BY Mr. Sigler ARGUMENT BY Mr. ARTHORNYA ARGUMENT BY Mr. Thompson

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MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner.

Yellowknife, N.W.T.
November 17, 1976.

# (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

before Mr. Bayly begins, I wonder if I could just make

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 not by way of reply but simply by way of observation a comment on something that Mr. Templeton said yesterday. At page 31852 he said -- and I'm quoting:

"I'm somewhat disquieted that so many government department recommendations suddenly appeared in the Commission counsel's final argument rather than earlier."

I think it important to point out that the Inquiry
Appraisal Team is, of course, made up of persons who
are seconded by government and persons who are hired
from the public sector. It goes without saying, and
I don't think that Mr Templeton misunderstands this,
it goes without saying that none of the recommendations
or submissions which we have made to you were developed
in any government department, nor were any of them
reviewed, examined, or reported upon to government
departments, and indeed government departments insofar
as we know got access to them at the same early date
the participants in this Inquiry did.

It's significant, I think, to point out that the three areas that Mr. Templeton zeroed in on presumably in respect of that comment, fisheries, sewage and frost heave, were incidentally three areas in which the substantial drafts of our submission were made not by government employees or



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representatives of government departments but by persons hired from the private sector and retained on our staff for that purpose.

So we deny first of all the general charge and we say that the particular examples can be illustrated to be not true.

Mr. Bayly?

THE COMMISSIONER: It was a

most serious allegation.

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner. I've distributed to all participants and to members of the press copies of most of what I have to say today, and I have also filed with Miss Hutchinson a copy of the argument without recommendations that we distributed to all parties on the 5th of November of this year. I have for filing before the end of the day a copy of the argument with references for every section and it hasn't been through the xerox machine yet, but it will be available before the end of the day. (SUBMISSION BY MR. BAYLY FOR COPE MARKED

EXHIBIT 896)

MR. BAYLY: Sir, the argumen t, the terms and conditions and the recommendations proposed by COPE to this Inquiry were prepared under my direction. They were developed from the house to house visits in the communities which were made by COPE field workers. The major concerns of the Inuvialuit were extracted from the notes which were made following these visits. These concerns were discussed and approved by the COPE Board of Directors at



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/a meeting in Sachs Harbour in August, 1975. The evidence that we led during the formal hearings was a reflection of these concerns. Using this evidence and the evidence which you heard in the community hearings, we developed the argument and recommendations which are before you.

On the 22nd of October this argument was taken to the COPE Board of Directors in Holman Island where it was read, translated, debated, modified, and accepted.

I've referred to the three documents which will form the argument to be presented to you.

Mr. Commissioner, we begin with the statement that there should be no pipeline before land claims are settled. That is the position that was put to you on behalf of COPE at the preliminary hearings in Inuvik, and that is the position of COPE and of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, today after 19 months of evidence before you. People in every native community have said that land claims must be settled before the construction of any pipeline, and they have stated their reasons for this demand. They have expressed a widespread and deeply felt apprehension about the impact and implications of a pipeline and of other related developments. They fear for their land, their communities, their families and their way of life.

What do the Inuvialuit want

What do the Inuvialuit want from this Commission and what do they hope to find in your report to the Government of Canada? The best that they can hope for is a recommendation that there be no pipeline authorization or construction prior to the



settlement and implementation of their land claims; no pipeline before whatever changes are necessary to ensure their survival as a people have taken place; no pipeline before land selection and planning have occurred.

The Inuvialuit seek this recommendation for two broad reasons.

- (1) Evidence led at this Inquiry has shown that the social, economic and mental stresses and costs which will result from forced change of native people and their way of life are unacceptable.
- (2) The Inuvialuit have legal rights to their land, and evidence has been led in the communities to show the extent and nature of the uses to which the land has been put. These rights should for legal, moral and political reasons be determined, acknowledged and enshrined prior to construction. Because land selection is an important element of settlement, the evidence has shown that it would be impossible to build a pipeline or even to select a route for one without precluding the selection of certain lands and waters under the terms of a land claims settlement agreement.



Neither COPE nor ITC has presented a land claims proposal to this Inquiry. At this time, there is none before the Government of Canada to present to you. As you pointed out on the last day of the evidence this is understandable and I make no apologies to you for it.

Nevertheless, it is possible to 8 discuss the conflict between major development and the 9 land claims in the absence of a specific proposal. The 10 fundamental objectives of the land claims settlement 77 are not in question among the Inuvialuit. Only the means 12 to achieve these objectives are under review. To demonstrate prejudice, we intend to examine the following:

- 1) the right of aboriginal peoples to land and water;
- 2) the basic things people want to protect and to have quaranteed, and;
- 3) the extent to which claims native people might put forward would be compromised by a pipeline and the activities, structures and increased population which would accompany its construction into the area.

COPE viewed this Inquiry as a unique opportunity from the outset. In my opening statement to you on March 3, 1975, I said that should a pipeline ever be built COPE wanted to be there, pen in hand, to write terms and conditions. And in the words of Vincent Steen, "I'm back again."

COPE has tried to use this opportunity to every advantage with the assistance of

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the funds arranged by you, to which COPE is grateful.

In the intervening two years it has become apparent that your Inquiry has indeed been unique. There is no assurance unfortunately that native people will as a matter of course even be given the opportunity again to contribute their knowledge and solutions to a development proposal of this magnitude.

COPE, therefore, seeks to make recommendations with as broad applicability as possible. Terms and conditions which should apply to a pipeline built on native lands are, in essence, no different from those which should apply to any development on those lands, regardless of place and time.

 Although Inuvialuit have said,
"no pipeline before a land claim settlement", they see
no reason not to express their views now about the
terms and conditions which ought to apply to one, should
it ever be built. I will argue that the opportunity
this Inquiry has provided to native people should be
continuous and expanded, but I am also aware that they
may not have such a favorable opportunity again. I
therefore intend to set before you these terms and
conditions as COPE sees them now, based on what evidence
you have before you.

 Let me be clear about the spirit in which COPE makes its recommendations. The Inuvialuit are not asking you to ask the government to plan things, administer and regulate them on their behalf. I believe there is no evidence before this Inquiry to suggest that they can safely leave the task of defending their interest



to the government, either Federal or Territorial. That task is one they seek for themselves, through land claims and through the terms and conditions you will recommend. COPE's recommendations are put forward on the assumption that native people will have that power and control over their land and their lives.

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cope's recommendations serve notice of its basic concerns and objectives to all interested parties and of the policies it might pursue in negotiations as equals with those other parties.

It is often asked. "What do the native people want?". You've heard many people speak at the community hearings. Almost all expressed their concern about the impact of development, past and projected, on their land and on their society. They expressed their fear of loss, loss of their land, their culture, their traditions, society and their identity. They expressed their desire to protect these things in the future. The evidence in the communities indicates that all these things are being talked about when the phrase land claims is used. People have given evidence based on their experience of the damage that industrial activities have in the past done to their land. They have given evidence of the changes of their way of life that have been imposed even with the best of intentions upon their communities, their use of their own language, their religion, their physical and mental health, their housing and their livelihood.

In their view, the development of petroleum resources in their land will bring with it more



of these changes, an acceleration of the processes and, in the absence of a land claims settlement, no increase in the amount of control they will have in what goes on around them and what happens to them.

Native people in the communities did not give you a detailed blueprint of what the future should be, and nor can COPE do that on their behalf. Perhaps no society can give you such a blueprint; certainly not native society which has never yet been given the opportunity to draft one.

What we can say is that there are certain things so important to native society, so dear to native people that these must be a part of whatever the future brings. They want to participate in Canada society, but first and foremost as Inuvialuit. They are not the same as other Canadians. They do not want to be, and they feel they cannot be. Above all they want to survive as a people and maintain their identity as Inuvialuit.

This does not mean that native people are against change. It does mean they must control their land, their communities, their lives and their institutions. This is their desire and they believe it's their right.

The survival of the Inuvialuit is no longer in their own hands as it once was. The southern economy and society is no longer distant and unknown. It penetrates their communities and spreads across their land. If the present course of development continues, they are doomed people. They will be land-

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less and outnumbered. They will have neither an economic base, nor political control. They will lose control over their own communities and they will forever lose the opportunity to control the education of their children, and the kinds of social, health and recreational services and opportunities that are provided in the North.

The survival of the Inuvialuit now depends on establishing a new relationship with the rest of Canadian society. If the viability and integrity of their land and lives are to be assured, then at least the following five requirements must be met:

- 1) Maintenance of the traditional land base and the viability of the traditional economy.
- 2) Maintenance of a political majority at the regional level.
- 3) Control over major economic development planning and decisions.
- 4) Maintenance of the viability of the small, essentially native communities.
- Adequate financial support for native self-5) government and enterprise, including control of the training and education of people for these purposes.

Now, given these criteria, these minimum conditions for the future well-being of Inuvialuit, it follows that COPE must judge the impact and desirability of a pipeline or any similar development on the basis of whether it aids or obstructs their

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realization.

There can be no other criteria for them. We know that a generation of government intervention, wage labour, and settlement living has not helped native people realize these objectives. Pipeline development as presently planned means only more of the same. Native people here and in many other parts of Canada have concluded that the only means of fulfilling their needs is through what is commonly called a land claims settlement.

Now, they do not conceive of this as a narrow, legalistic declaration of land ownership, followed by expropriation and compensation.

Such a settlement has nothing to do with the objectives that we have stated. Nor do they believe that a land claim settlement, even in its broadest terms, encompassing all of these objectives, is all that is necessary, or that all of their problems will be solved when such an agreement is reached.



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settlement.

They simply believe that a land claims settlement is a major and essential step forward as well as a necessary assertion of their heritage.

Without it nothing else will make much difference.

That is why I say that if your terms and conditions are to offer any real benefits to native people, they must go hand in hand with a land claims

your Inquiry is of itself inadequate to protect their interests in the long run. We cannot ignore the context in which these applications come before you. They are not isolated. No one denies that the construction of the gas pipeline opens the door to other major developments. Sound terms and conditions for a pipeline will not help native people if they have little or no effective input into the terms and conditions for construction of oil pipelines, offshore facilities, roads, railroads and new communities in later years. Neither can we ignore the past failures of government to protect the interests of native people in the face of these developments. It is for them simply now or never.

The evidence of the applicants must lead you to believe that they intend the impact to be as gentle as possible. They are prepared to reward with high wages and job opportunities the local people, and in particular the native people. But they say that they do not have the power or authority to control the five essential requirements for Inuvialuit survival. Yet the applicants have



7 chosen not to do what the American oil companies did 2 3 4

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in the United States, to influence the American Government to settle the Alaskan native claims prior to the commencement of work on the Alyeska Pipeline. in this regard Arctic Gas and Foothills and perhaps if we examine Foothills' statement yesterday, their position has changed, but up until yesterday both companies had in public washed their hands of the fate of native claims and the Inuvialuit therefore place great importance on the role of this Commission. its role in recommending that the claims be settled and in place prior to the granting of any certificates of public convenience to either applicant.

The Inuvialuit understand a land claims settlement to mean the return of effective power and control over their traditional Without that, they see no way of having any substantial influence over major developments. To construct a pipeline on their lands prior to a land claims settlement is therefore clearly prejudicial to the validity of the claim itself, to the effectiveness of their settlement, and to their future wellbeing.

In the following argument we will point out the problems we foresee with development and make a number of specific recommendations about them. Our emphasis is on the basic objectives of native people and our estimate of the minimum conditions under which these can be realized. A pipeline or similar development must be consistent with these.

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We do not pretend to have the answers for everything. In some areas we can only say that there is a problem and that we have heard no sound solutions put forward in evidence. Where that is the case, and the consequences are unacceptable to native people, we can say only that acceptable solutions must be found prior to construction, and that native people must participate in determining these solutions.

Our specific recommendations are neither final nor exhaustive. We cannot foresee every problem and we know that even at this late stage of assessment of the applicant's proposals the actual development may be very different from what we are considering now. COPE says Inuvialuit must have the continuing power and control to negotiate issues as they arise, whether they relate to environmental protection, employment, education, or to enforce the implementation of the various solutions. This power must not be restricted to COPE or to a few native representatives on Boards or authorities. It must ultimately go back to the communities, to the hunters and trappers association and to the people themselves. Our recommendations merely indicate the concerns and solutions which native people might put forward in continuing negotiations.

COPE cannot let the
Inuvailuit's participations in the future rest with
a list of recommendations, recommended terms and
conditions. For unless both government and industry
whole-heartedly support the spirit as well as the



APNZBZZ B.C.

letter of these terms and conditions, then anything with uncertain implications may be adversely interpreted. As well, the concern about new and unforeseen situations may be met with the customary cold shoulder. There is no credible evidence before this Inquiry that either government or industry would not interpret unforeseen or ambiguous situations in their own favor, or indeed actively shift the balance to their own advantage.

I propose to discuss briefly the legal claim, that is the right of Inuvialuit to lands and waters. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry is not the proper forum to settle and determine the nature and extent of the land claims of the Inuvialuit in the Western Arctic, but to the extent that the construction of a pipeline and related facilities is in conflict with Inuvialuit interests and claims, it is important that you be able to pass on in your report to the Government of Canada the nature and extent of that prejudice.

Evidence has been heard in all the Inuvialuit communities of present and past land use. This evidence has confirmed the contents of the land use and occupancy study in the Western Arctic, which is now an exhibit to this Inquiry, prepared by members of the community with the assistance of Peter Usher, and the uses have been graphically shown on the supporting map series which is an exhibit to these proceedings. Some of the maps are on the wall today.



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Inuvialuit interest in the lands, evidence has been given to this Inquiry on the importance of land to individuals, to families and to communities. The importance of retaining the land as opposed to being compensated for its loss or damage is a repeated theme of the evidence throughout the communities. There is, we submit, sufficient evidence before you to establish a case that the Inuvialuit have a proprietary interest in the land.

In establishing the

You have heard that the Inuvialuit signed no treaties with the Government of Canada. Briefly, if the Crown has acquired lands in Canada in the ordinary course of things under English law, they were acquired subject to all public rights and prerogatives of the former sovereign. There is a presumption that all private rights survived the change in Dominion and to determine the natu and extent of these rights one must look at the lex logi.

You have heard evidence in the communities which shows that there was a conscious system of the use of the land and water as well as a consciousness of the various groups that make up the Inuvialuit of their rights to use the land and water, and their obligations to one another related to land use.

I'll quote here from Bertram Pokiak, one of the witnesses that you heard in Tuktoyaktuk:

"Like in Aklavik, a lot of fur them days,

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just like you white people working for wages and you have money in the bank, well my bank was here all around with the fur, whatever kind of food I wanted, if I wanted caribou I go up in the mountain; if I wanted colored fur I went up in the mountain; in delta I get mink, muskrat; but I never make a big trapper, I just get enough for my own use in the comming year. For next year them animals are going to be there anyway, that's my bank."

This evidence and other

similar pieces of evidence you've heard is sufficient to show that the Inuvialuit can argue that they have a lex loci which, though different from the European system, is logical, sophisticated and understandable.



It may be argued by the government and by the applicants that whatever rights the Inuvialuit have in their lands, they amount to no more than the estate of fee simple in the land. This would make the land susceptible to expropriation. An estate of fee simple in the lands implies a tenurial relationship between the crown—

THE COMMISSIONER: I'm sorry,

but page 10.

MR. BAYLY: Did you get a

blank page, sir?

THE COMMISSIONER: A blank

page. Sorry, carry on.

MR. BAYLY: As I said, this would make the land susceptible to expropriation and I'm just at the top of the page, sir. An estate of fee simple in the lands implies a tenurial relationship between the crown and the native people. In the evidence you've heard from and about the Inuvialuit, there is no evidence of such a relationship between the present or any former sovereign. We submit, therefore, that it is arguable that the Inuvialuit have an allodial right to the land. An allod is the highest category of ownership known to the common law, and it consists of an absolute right of ownership. It is not a mere estate and is not subject to the higher rights of the crown.

On the opposite page, I've put

a photocopy of the definition of allod from Black's Law Dictionary for your information, sir.

It is therefore arguable that the



Crown may have no more than a right to acquire the land from the Inuit by virtue of their sovereignty.

It is arguable from the evidence that the title of Inuvialuit is more than the usufructary and communal rights to which various parties in this Inquiry have referred. It is unclear what the full nature of the title is at this point. It is sufficient for the purposes of this Inquiry to say that the lack of clarity as to the nature and extent of the title is in itself a compelling reason for settling the claims that native people have prior to the commencement of the construction of the pipeline and related facilities.

Now, that claim is based on land use, sir, and I have a section on land use and land use planning.

The Inuvialuit have traditionally used and occupied the lands and waters on which development is proposed. These lands and waters continue to be important to them, economically and culturally. Accordingly, the Inuvialuit have special rights in these areas, both legal and moral. Industrial development is frequently incompatible with traditional activity. The present applications, along with other proposed developments pose a clear threat to the Inuvialuits continued use and enjoyment of these lands and waters.

Because the Inuvialuit are the traditional users of the land with special rights to it, the burden of proof in any land use controversy must lie with those who seek in engage in new uses of the land.

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Where any reasonable doubt exists as to the potential harm of any proposed activity, the proponent must prove to the satisfaction of the Inuvialuit that this activity will not be detrimental to established uses. The Inuvialuit must be under no obligation to prove that such damage will occur in order to prohibit or restrict such uses. Because the Inuvialuit have special rights to their land, under no circumstances should the doctrine of "balance of convenience" be an acceptable criteria for determining land use.

We believe that the following things are required, as part of or in addition to a land claim settlement and must be agreed to and implemented prior to the granting of a permit to construct a gas pipeline. Now, I've used the version that's in the filed copies, so the wording may be different, by the sections will be the same.

by the Inuvialuit as part of a land claims settlement. COPE cannot say at this time what amounts and what areas would be selected as this is a matter for negotiation with the Government of Canada. Most land selected by the Inuvialuit would probably be set aside exclusively for traditional activities, but not all lands would necessarily be prohibited from industrial use.

Usually selection would involve large blocks of land. An example is the area of the proposed Cape Bathurst, Husky Lakes freeze, and there's an

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Exhibit No. 256 which refers to the proposal for that freeze which was filed in Tuktoyaktuk.

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Much of the lands selected, existing exploration permits would be cancelled. Responsibility for any compensation to industry must rest with the Government of Canada. Lands selected by the Inuvialuit must be exempt from expropriation for industrial uses or transport corridors.

The second category consists of lands withdrawn for other purposes, possibly but not necessarily as part of a land claims settlement, except that such withdrawals must not prejudice

Inuvialuit selection. Substantial areas of land must be designated jointly by Inuvialuit, the Government of Canada and other interested parties as parks, or reserves, for single or restricted uses. Such lands would be withdrawn from possible industrial development. The Inuvialuit contemplate that their rights to subsistence harvests would continue in these areas.

The third item requires-
THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,

your point is that those withdrawals should occur before
a right-of-way permit is granted?

MR. BAYLY: Yes sir, this section is based on the requirement that there be a land use plan for the western Arctic.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

MR. BAYLY: Land selection by native people should be part of that land use plan and land selection for other purposes as well.



The third item requires change

in game and fishing regulations to enshrine traditional
Inuvialuit hunting and fishing rights, and to provide
for the exclusive access by the people to fur, fish
and game. The most comprehensive proposal in this
regard is the Inuit Hunting Rights Brief which is

Exhibit 687 to this Inquiry, which COPE endorses in

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general. The special hunting and fishing rights of the
Inuvialuit shall be exercised over all public lands;
unless by their own consent there shall be restrictions

on certain reserves for management or scientific

purposes. It may be necessary to restrict non-native

access for tourism and recreation to certain parts of

14 both public and native lands.

The fourth requirement is that the Inuvialuit must have substantial and effective influence on the planning and regulation of all development activity on all public lands not withdrawn from those purposes. There shall be a land use planning commission with effective input from native communities. The commission must include representatives of the Inuvialuit, the government, and national environmental and conservation organizations. Its task shall include but not be restricted to the following:

- a) land withdrawal according to recommendation 2.
- b) developing realistic land use evaluation and managing procedures for northern environments.
- c) designating sensitive areas where particularly stringent screening of land use and development



1 proposals would be required. 2 3) designating specific land management zones and 3 recommending management plans for each. 4 recommending measures to maintain biological e) 5 productivity on public lands to protect fish and 6 wildlife populations and habitats, and set minimum standards of conservation 8 f) recommending temporary freezes on lands not Q vet withdrawn according to recommendations 1 and 10 2, or on public land until improved protective 11 measures are implemented. 12 a) coordinating land use planning with those 13 responsible for the management of Inuvialuit 14 lands. h) designating potential transporation and transmission 16 corridors. 17 i) making recommendations on the timing and sequence 1.8 of industrial development. 19 i) having input to the revision, administration and 20 enforcement of existing statutes and regulations 21 such as the Territorial Land Use Regulations, as 22 well as coordinating its plans with those of 23 special agencies such as any proposed Mackenzie 24 Valley Pipeline authority. 25 I fear that the authorization 26 and construction of a pipeline prior to the implementation 27 of these measures will prejudice Inuvialuit partici-28 pation in land use planning.



1 " This has been stated clearly and often by Inuvialuit and let me remind you by quoting from Vincent Steen's words in Tuktovaktuk: "The Eskimo is asking for a land settlement 1 because he doesn't trust the white man any more to handle the land that he owns and F. he figures he's owned for years and years." Now, we go onto a section 2 on project regulations, sir, and it deals with not 7 only the regulation of the pipeline project but 10 those things which may accompany and follow it. 7.3 Much of the evidence you have 12 heard has pointed out the inability of present agencies 13 to enforce stipulations on present and future develop-14 ments. It is clear that the environmental impact of a pipeline project would depend in part upon how effectively stipulations are enforced. Evidence before 17 this Inquiry has shown that under present legislation and with existing agencies permit stipulations may not 19 be adequately enforced. (I refer you to comments 20 by Dr. Stephen regarding the political nature of some enforcement decisions, where he said at Volume 139 of the transcript: "I consider it my job to put a halo and wings on my Minister." And when asked "Sometimes that may occur at the 25 expense of the environment."

He answered, "That's right.")

the Department of Indian & Northern Affairs or the

The Inuvialuit do not trust

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Department of the Environment with the possible exception of Fisheries Service, to protect their northern ecosystems from the environmental and social effects of operations by large politically influential corporations. They feel that the Department of Indian & Northern Affairs have demonstrated its lack of an environmental conscience on many occasions. Therefore we submit that the Department of Indian & Northern Affairs should not be allowed to dominate the surveillance of a pipeline project and the Department of the Environment must be removed from its position as a poor relative before its agencies (other than Fisheries and Marine Service) can be effective.

If present government agencies were used to regulate any pipeline project, much of that regulation would come under the Territorial Land Use Regulations. Even if a regulatory agency is formed, future exploration and development generated by a pipeline project would probably be regulated by established agencies.

You have heard it clearly stated in the communities that people are dissatisfied with the present methods of issuing land use permits and enforcing their stipulations.

Billy Stoor in Aklavik
pointed out that the community often has little or no
time to consider land use applications. Randy Pokiak
in Tuktoyaktuk explained the attempts of delta hunters
and trappers to form a Regional Committee to express



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their concerns to the Department of Indian & Northern
Affairs.

Decision-making processes must be revised to include effective participation by native groups. Consideration must be given to long-term and cumulative effects of operations. Penalty provisions must be rigidly enforced and operators must be required to satisfactorily complete stipulations under one permit before being issued another.

The Territorial Land Use
Regulations are now almost five years old and they are
still inadequate to control land use operations.
The recommendations outlined in our submission shows
the kinds of changes which would have to be wrought
in a single government agency before it could adequately
do the job it is required to do now.

COPE has presented evidence on the inadequacies of other government agencies and made suggestions for the improvement in them to meet their present responsibilities. But Inuvialuit say that the agencies which have the legal responsibilities for environmental protection would be incapable of dealing with a pipeline project.

COPE does not assume that a

Mackenzie Valley Pipeline will be built. However,

Inuvialuit recognize that their preferences may not

always receive the attention they merit. Therefore

COPE decided to include in its recommendations minimum

requirements for a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Authority.

The environmental stipulations



imposed upon any Mackenzie Valley natural gas pipeline can be handled adequately only by the formation of a regulatory authority. The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Authority would be established to do the following three things:

- administer and enforce environmental stipulations and operating conditions to be imposed on the pipeline company and its contractors;
- (2) determine compensation to individuals or groups for damage to the land or loss of income as a result of pipeline-related activities;
- (3) research the environmental effects of pipeline construction and operation both long and short-term.

The authority must be responsible only to Parliament and must be established by

Statute. It must report its activities to the public monthly and issue a semi-annual public report. The authority must be controlled by a small Board including Inuvialuit and Dene representatives. The chairman must be a professional environmentalist whose appointment must be subject to veto by native associations.

COPE's recommendations outline a model for the authority.

A program of long-term
research on environmental matters in the north must
be initiated by responsible agencies in consultation
with native organizations. The objectives of such
research must be to provide a background of information
which can be used in assessing the likely effects of
proposed land use operations on Inuvialuit and Crown
lands; to break the present pattern of reactive research;



and with the appropriate Hunters and Trappers Associations to develop a management plan and population monitoring scheme for locally exploited populations of fish, marine mammals, large game and migratory birds. Management plans must have the following priorities:

- (1) Populations harvested by Inuvialuit and at risk because of actual or proposed developments;
- (2) Non-harvested populations at risk because of actual or proposed developments;
- (3) Populations used by Inuvialuit for subsistence or commercial purposes where there is no proposed development.

All research reports must be public documents. Each scientist must be responsible for the production of a simplified summary of his findings.

Obviously, industry must regulate some of its own activities. However, in light of the Alaskan experience it is difficult to recommend a mechanism by which this can be done effectively. Extra damage which results from failure of quality assurance and quality control -- those are the terms thatwere used in Alaska -- is unacceptable to Inuvialuit and must be prevented by authority supervision and monitoring.

Each community affected by pipeline activities must be provided by the authority with a list of problems that its residents may wish to discuss and help solve. The community shall be responsible for deciding the extent to which it wishes to be



involved in the decisions.

we do two things.

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auditor group be formed with access to all documents and reports. Although the proper role for Inuvialuit is in a policy-making position of control, groups representing the other public interests should be represented by this auditor group.

We haven't had a chance to really think about what Mr. Templeton said yesterday comparing an ombudsman and an auditor group, but if we do have some thoughts about that, sir, we may include that in a letter to you when we're commenting specifically on Commission counsel's work.

On the subject of mouting,

(1) We deal with the problem Inuvialuit have in responding to the various routes and route changes which have been put and continue to be put before various public Boards, and suggest ways that the route selection process can be a response to public planning;

(2) We respond in a general way to the various routes and in a specific way to the proposals which the applicants places before this Inquiry.

First, the problems of responding to given routes for pipelines which have arisen since the publishing of the guidelines and which have continued through this Inquiry's proceedings and which promise to continue are -- and I list about six of these:

(1) Four applications to construct northern gas pipelines



are presently before tribunals in this country and the United States. Two of these, if approved, would likely mean that no pipeline would be built in the Mackenzie Valley for a number of years.

- approximately 50% of its route including relocations with major environmental consequences, such as the crossdelta route. Because of its present uncertain position regarding frost heave, we may see many more route, as well as design changes. Foothills has also proposed important realignments and has shown its route selection to be in a very preliminary stage.

  Dr. Clark, who appeared for Arctic Gas, stated that route alignment is a matter for final design, that river crossing locations must be designated before the overland links can be finalized. We are faced with the probability that many of the site-specific recommendations of the Inquiry may not be applicable to the final alignment of the successful applicant.
- (3) Despite industry's contrary contentions, we submit that pipelines and other industrial facilities are incompatible with some other land uses and pose unacceptable risks to some lands and waters. Minor route changes such as those proposed to deal with site specific problems (such as peregrine falcon nest sites) will not adequately solve many environmental problems. Imposing specific and rigorous stipulations and regulating as strictly as possible will not make each land use compatible with all others. Neither will the most sophisticated contingency plans or



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compensation mechanism provide the cure or somehow make the risks worth taking in some areas.

- (4) The Pipeline Guidelines envisage that gas and oil pipelines can and will be located along the same routes and close to one another. However, there is no concensus on the wisdom of developing corridors Nor is there agreement on the nature or magnitude of the possible impacts of these corridors. In addition, some routes may be acceptable for one facility and not for others. Even the applicants might agree with that.
- (5) In the Western Arctic, land is being committed piecemeal for uses which preclude its selection for others. No co-ordinated efforts have been made to set aside areas which are necessary for the maintenance of traditional lifestyles. IN fact, there is evidence before you that there have been concerted efforts by government and industry to prevent such designations.

  (6) Planning is inadequate for the present level of activity and nobody seems to understand what land use planning should be or how to prepare a land use plan for the Mackenzie region.

  If the demand for a Mackenzie

Valley Pipeline is not now as strong as it was two years ago when this Inquiry began its work, we may have an opportunity to address these problems with a comprehensive plan rather than planning the future of the Mackenzie Valley by responding to a pipeline proposal.

We recommend dealing with



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these problems by developing a land use plan for the Western Arctic. We have discussed this in the land use section, which is expanded on in the other document.



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Turning to unsolved problems.

The applicants before this Inquiry have been unable to prove that they are capable of building northern pipelines. No permit for any pipeline in northern Canada should be issued until it can be proven that:

- snow roads can be built, maintained and used for construction in tundra areas;
- 2) frost heave can be controlled by a method which is not harmful to the environment. Assurances of scientists are not adequate. Data must be provided which can be tested experimentally by third parties;
- 3) winter construction will be able to meet proposed schedules allowing for cold weather and delays for environmental reasons.

Now, we have a list of what we consider minimum requirements for northern pipelines. Regardless of the timing of approval of any northern pipeline, this Inquiry ought to make recommendations of general applicability to any northern route, as well as recommending that specific stipulations apply to specific routes.

Our recommendations for northern pipelines are based on the following criteria:

- that pipeline construction activities are unacceptable in certain geographical areas.
- 2) that construction activities are unacceptable at certain times of the year, for environmental reasons.
- 3) that construction activities may cause unacceptable



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disturbance of certain species of wildlife.

4) the fact that some construction has already been allowed in an area does not necessarily mean that other construction projects in the same area are acceptable.

Proponents of development appear to think that if proper safeguards are taken, industrial activity is compatible with any and all environments.

Witness the Beaufort Sea offshore drilling debate,
the drilling in Kendall Island Bird Sanctuary and the plans to dredge Tuk Harbour.

development activities are not compatible with every landscape. Environmental values cannot be maintained in all cases by regulating the activities of developers. Prior to the approval of any pipeline application, exclusion areas must be outlined and protected by legislation. This Inquiry has heard considerable evidence that in some locations a gas pipeline would be acceptable but an oil pipeline, or a transportation corridor would not.

However, the COPE Board of Directors feel that if one facility, that is a gas pipeline, is allowed to proceed, it may be impossible to stop others. Any areas in which corridors are unacceptable are therefore also unacceptable for single facilities. Some locations in which development is acceptable during some parts of the year require special protection or avoidance during other times.

Many of the critical periods



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concern natural phenomena, such as the migration of birds, animals and fish, the dates of which cannot be pinpointed. These areas must be located and early and late dates of avoidance or restrictions must be established prior to a permit being issued. If the project is unable to proceed within that framework, it must be located elsewhere.

The requirements listed below are considered by COPE to be minimum requirements which should apply to any natural gas pipeline built in the North. Inuvialuit recognize that the Berger Inquiry may have been a phenomenon which will not be repeated. COPE has, therefore, prepared this list of recommendations which may be drawn on as applicable to pipelines in general, expecting that Inuvialuit or other native groups may wish them to be applied to other pipeline projects elsewhere in the North.

The recommendations which are outlined in COPE's submission are based on two assumptions:

- 1) that if an oil pipeline is to be built, another Inquiry will be held and new sets of stipulations will be written;
- 2) that standard mitigative procedures will be established by the pipeline company and approved by the authority before construction begins.

Now, dealing with specific routes that are before this Inquiry. Among the specific routes before you, COPE objects strenuously to any pipeline crossing the Northern Yukon. Both the circum-delta and



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the Cross-delta routes threaten to cross lands which are important to present and future economies of Inuvialuit and to a multitude of wildlife species.

The hazardous risks to these areas either by a pipeline project or by developments which may follow it are unacceptable to Inuvialuit.

Frank Elanik, Andrew Archie and Andy Kayotuk in Aklavik and Colin Allen, Ishmael Alunik and Victor Allen in Inuvik explained the importance of the north coast and delta areas to Inuvialuit.

The interior route crosses lands of the Dene of Old Crow and Fort McPherson areas. COPE supports the Council for Yukon Indians and the Northwest Territories Indian Brotherhood in their claims and recommendations for these areas.

The northern Yukon and outer delta are among those areas in which regulations of activities alone cannot provide adequate environmental and social protection.

In the future a Mackenzie Valley trunk pipeline may be acceptable to Inuvialuit, provided that winter construction methods are used, communities and renewal resource based industries are assured priority and the use of scarce resources and specific environmental stipulations are rigidly enforceable and enforced.

The Alaska Highway route appears attractive to Inuvialuit and may prove to be of less environmental concern than routes crossing the northern Yukon. COPE recommends that environmental and social



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research be designed in conjunction with the Council of Yukon Indians and communities along that route.

Community hearings acceptable to the local people must be held in all communities affected by such a line prior to a decision being made.

A coordinated scientific study of the delta must be done prior to any additional development projects. Scientists are unable now to accurately assess the damage already done to the wildlife population. Inuvialuit fear that continued damage will go undetected by scientists unless very careful studies of the environment before, during and after development are carried out.

In the recommendations, specific research requirements are outlined relating to future delta and offshore developments.

Now, land selection prior to selection of industrial sites or transportation routes is a vital prerequisite to route selection. Jimmy Jacobsen in Tuktoyaktuk outlined the importance of land reserves to Inuvialuit. He said, and I quote:

"We feel that Eskimo Lakes and Cape Bathurst should be just like a reserve, kept free; not just kept free for two or three years, completely have it for a reserve in case a pipeline comes up, we got something to go back on to keep our good hunting ground, because if that pipeline ever come up, people will be only rich for one or two years".

The authority must ensure compliance with all environmental stipulations and have



the power to suspend or shut down all parts of the project, or any parts of the project, if its demands are not met or if it is required for environmental protection.

Failure to comply with an inspector's instruction must be a statutory offence carrying severe penalties for individual offenders, their supervisors and responsible management.

Money is neither appropriate nor adequate compensation for loss of the use of renewable resources by native people, and you've heard evidence on that from Alaska. However, individuals or groups deprived of food or income because of non-natural population declines or damage to traps or nets must be assisted in supporting themselves.

Consultations among the authority, the communities and the native organizations must outline appropriate ways of providing compensation. Peter Thrasher in Aklavik and William Nasagaloak in Tuk outlined the need to establish ways of granting compensation. Inuvialuit know when changes take place they in the populations of animals upon which depend, but they are seldom in a position to know and almost never able to prove what causes declines or other damage.

some changes he has seen, and I'll remind you of those.

"He said a long time ago he used to be able to
fish all fall, but the last two summers he hardly
got any, especially last fall. He doesn't know
what's causing it, whether it's the oil companies

Joe Nasagaloak in Tuk outlined



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that are working down by the ocean, or maybe it's something else. He's not sure, but he knows for sure since the last two summers that he's been fishing the fish are really poor".

When cross-examined by Glen Bell, Dr. Peter McCart said this about establishing liability, and I quote:

"If the only evidence you have is that in one year people caught fewer fish than they caught over an average of the previous ten years, you don't have that kind of certainty.

I think you would have to have some dead fish in hand and you would have to be able to examine them or examine the circumstances in which the fish died to establish that it was in fact the pipeline".

Mr. Marshall brought up the statement of Mr. Jackimchuk yesterday. Mr. Jackimchuk said:

"It is, in fact, my expectation that actual losses or effects attributable to the pipeline, both short and long-term will be negligible".

If you recall at page 10239 of the transcript, Dr. Calef took those words and said this about them:

"This is meant to be a reassuring statement...", referring to Dr. Jackimchuk's,

"...a statement of optimism. I would like to turn it around to be a dire warning. I think it is absolutely true that actual losses or effects



attributable to the pipeline will be negligible; not necessarily because they don't occur, but because they will not be directly attributed to the pipeline. We will not be able to attribute them with certainty to the pipeline".

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26 27 28 For that reason, we say that the pipeline company must post a performance bond and an amount to be determined by the authority. The terms must require that the bonds shall be paid to, among other things, the individuals, hunters and trappers associations or communities for damage caused by pipeline activity.

The details must be worked out with the Inuvialuit, but must include the requirement that the bond or portions of it shall be payable unless the company can show that the damage or loss of livelihood were not caused by either the pipeline or related activities.

Other projects must be subject to the same kind of bond requirements. Now, Mr.

Commissioner, it's twenty after ten. Do you want to stop for coffee before I go on? I've gotten half way through the direct part of the presentation.

THE COMMISSIONER: Sure. We'll stop for coffee then.

(PROCFEDINGS ADJOURNED)



(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Let's come to order again, ladies and gentlemen.

if I may begin again with the section that is entitled, "Community Consultation."

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner.

THE COMMISSIONER: Let's pull ourselves together and consider what Mr. Bayly is about to say to us.

MR. BAYLY: On the subject of community consultation, COPE's recommendations throughout the argument emphasize the requirement for continual consultation among government, industry and original peoples regarding the details of any pipeline which may be built. It has also been pointed out before this Inquiry that appropriate mechanisms need to be developed to allow communities to participate in decision-making which affects their future. Elsewhere in the argument we have outlined formal structures existing and proposed in which native people want more say. But community consultation is more than this.

This Commission has visited every town, village, hamlet, settlement and outpost in the Mackenzie Valley and nearby Arctic Islands.

You have heard from as many people as wanted to speak. It must have been obvious that people in this area want to speak for themselves. They are not prepared to delegate everything to their representatives in any organization. Furthermore, the communities are



rich in wisdom and opinion. Many of those whose thoughts are valuable are not prepared to spend all their working lives as committee members, appointed or elected officials. We do not propose administrative and regulatory bodies with Inuvialuit representatives as an alternative to community consultation but in addition to it. The consultation requirement indicated in many of our recommendations does not mean that each specific borrow pit design, for example, has to be discussed in each community. At such time as a pipeline is built, hopefully with the agreement of the communities, the detailed day by day advice on environmental issues required by these recommendations can be provided by the Inuvialuit members of the Authority's Board. It would then be the responsibility of these representatives to seek advice from communities or native organizations as they require it.

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This continuing process will only work once a project has begun and under circumstances in which Inuvialuit representatives are in continuing contact with government agencies at such a level that their voices must be heard and must have influence. This will only work if it is seen to be fair; that is, if original peoples desires on large issues as well as small ones are sometimes met.

Developments proposed in the future, other than a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, must also go through a process of community consultation.

We propose a mechanism for such consultation. In order to be worthwhile and effective, community consultation



programs must meet the following criteria:

- (1) Environmen tal and social assessmen ts must begin at the same time as the preliminary economic and technical feasibility studies.
- (2) Assessments must consider cumulative impacts.

  Inuvialuit must be involved in study design and execution.

Secondly, community and original peoples organizations must be advised of the proposal at that time and must be kept in touch with its progress.

Type and timing of consultation required shall be decided by and in consultation with these organizations. They shall also be requested to assist in identifying studies which need to be carried out.

- (3) Details of the proposed project and all assessments must be publicly available at all stages. Relevant data must not be kept secret.
- (4) Information must be presented in ways which are and are seen to be objective. The negative as well as the positive impacts of major developments must be presented. Probable and possible future developments which will result from any project must also be discussed in a general way.
- (5) Socio-economic assessments and consultation processes must include the influences of the project on qualitative phenomena such as social relations, political development and control, family and community life, cultural values and general social well-being.
- (6) Consultation must always include a consideration of overall impacts and the question of whether or not



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the project should proceed at all. This point cannot be over-emphasized. The no-development option must be a real possibility.

(7) The long range objectives and total pattern of the development must be presented. People must be invited to consider the total development picture rather than individual components separately. There must be a long range scenario of what resource development in a particular region could lead to. Mr. Shearer's scenario of the possible proliferation of oil and gas wells in the Beaufort Sea is an example, though we envisage these scenarios being presented in much greater detail.

Promises made by government and industry during the consultation process (regarding such things as restrictive regulations, enforcement, etc) must be fulfilled;

(9) Local people must not only be consulted, they must be part of the decision-making process. The assumption that legitimate Inuvialuit concerns can all be handled by proper regulation of a project must be tested in each instance. In some cases, it may be necessary to abandon a project.

COPE recommends that consultations on future possible m ajor developments be handled using this hearing as a model. To deal with smaller proposals, existing structures such as the Environmental Assessment Review Process and the Land Use Committee might be revised to include Inuvialuit in the decision-making processes and to provide for public



accountability.

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Annie Goose of Holman

Island summed up Inuvialuit feelings about present

consultation processes, and I quote her:

"We Inuit don't have very much voice because we've never been given any chance to go on any committee the Minister has to listen to. They tell us one time, 'If you people want oil, you have to either say yes, or if you say no, well then you can't do anything about it.' That clearly shows that they want to rush us all the time."

Now I'm turning to the subject of economic development. It is well known that there are two economies in the north, and they are sometimes called the modern and the traditional economies. This is typical of a colonial hinterland economy like that in the north. They are not separate and today the growth of one threatens the survival of the other. Hunting, trapping and fishing continue to be of great importance to native people, certainly far greater than the applicants have suggested. Let me illustrate this with the words of the president of the Inuvik Hunters & Trappers Association, Ishmael Alunik:

"We hear all the time from the oil companies and from the government, like the regional plan, that the trapping and the living off the land is dying out, and that the people all want jobs. This is not true....More people now are



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going back to trapping and living off the land because they made money and they can buy their equipment. We do not think of our jobs as a substitute for living off the land. Jobs are another way to help us live."

Native people need cash, and therefore jobs, but they have said they want jobs and hunting, not jobs instead of hunting.

The wage economy has not served native people well in the past. Employment has been unsteady and insecure, and native people have mostly unskilled, low paying jobs. Very few native people have benefitted from business opportunities. They have had no share of profits from development, and no control over government or industry investment. The legacy of this failure is deep distrust as the evidence shows, and I'm quoting here from Vincent Steen from Tuktoyaktuk. You recall that he said:

"You took everything they had and you gave them nothing. You took all the fur, took all the whales, killed all the polar bear with aircraft and everything and put a quota on top of that so we can't have polar bear when we feel like it any more. All that we pay for. Same thing with the seismic outfits. You plough their trap... now they want to drill out there. Now they want to build a pipeline and they say they're not going to hurt the country while they do it. They're going to let the



Eskimo live his way, but he can't because no way, because the white man has gotten not only so that he's taken over, taken everything out of the country and everything but he's also taken the culture, half of it anyway."

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Now, the kinds of employment offered on the construction of the pipeline and related developments do not suit the long-term needs of native people. Especially on pipeline construction itself

the unions and the contractors have made it clear that the experience and team work required as well as considerations of safety and equal treatment on the

job means that very few native people will have hired.

They say employment schedules will not be that flexible. Emphasis on native employment may have to be in the construction of compressor stations and gas plants and in exploration and development where there will be greater opportunity and flexibility. But even employment on ancillary facilities, well paying though it may be in the longterm, is not in the communities and it is not longterm; not always long term. It is not always compatible with hunting and fishing and trapping.

These jobs can be of temporary benefit to native people, but should not be relied upon. The experience or training native peoples get on them will probably not be useful in their home communities and may not be useful anywhere in the North in later years. Probably very few Inuvialuit will want or get employment in pipeline construction.

In order to ensure adequate opportunity and treatment for those who do, however,

COPE demands the right to be an active participant at all pre-job conferences between unions and management related to pipeline or any other major construction. The



kind of employment offered on the operations and maintenance of the pipeline and gas plants is also unsuited to the needs of native people. These are jobs for which the Nortran training program—Nortran program is training people. They are full—time jobs not in the communities and not compatible with hunting and fishing.

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The Nortran program leads people out of their communities and away from native life in preparation for these jobs. It trains people for jobs which exist mainly in the south, not in the north. It seeks to reorient people to southern values and ways of life. It creates bad feelings among non-native co-workers.

Therefore, COPE does not ask for special hiring and employment provisions on the pipeline. COPE says native people must have equal access to union membership and employment on the basis of their actual competence for the jobs, and that they not be put at a disadvantage by virtue of their background or place of origin.

We think quota systems or preferential hire will only create more problems than they solve. COPE states that the government's pipeline guidelines for native employment and business have been wrong. We do not blame the companies for following them because that is what they were told to do. But the guidelines themselves do not meet the real needs of native people, and may be unworkable and impractical as well.



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costs on both government and industry and native people never ask that these costs be imposed. However useful and necessary a pipeline may be to others it cannot be presented as a cure for the economic ills

The guidelines impose extra

uninformed view of the pipeline as the only salvation of a degraded and helpless people.

of native society. COPE cannot accept the narrow and

Native people do not want the crimbs from the tables of oil and gas development.

COPE recommends that employment guidelines be rethought in consultation with original peoples.

We believe there will be few new employment opportunities for native people in government or in service jobs created by pipeline development and very few new business opportunities. The pipeline companies have no control over these jobs, and past experience has taught Inuvialuit that outsiders get most of the benefits.

Now, will tax and royalty revenues benefit native people? We know this money will not go directly to native people but to the Federal Government. So native people won't control that money anymore than they can control taxes now.

COPE, therefore, strongly recommend
that the Inuvialuit must have control over the economy
and their own communities prior to any major development.

COPE says Inuvialuit need and have a right to balance
long-term developments based on local resources and
community based and controlled enterprises.



ì COPE recommends an alternative development program suited to the needs of native 2 people which include the following things: 3 4 a) improved assessment and management of the renewable resource base. 5 b) improved techniques and programs for renewable resource harvesting. 8 making more money available to the traditional 9 activities. 10 These would increase the 17 efficiency of hunters and trappers as well as create 12 jobs in resource management at community level. 13 greater local processing of renewable resources. 14 For example, tanneries, garment manufacturing, 35# food processing to create community based and controlled enterprises and employment. substitute locally designed and manufactured 17: e) 13 products for imports where practical. Obvious examples are building materials and housing. 13 29 research and development into the possibilities 21 of new uses for local resources, new methods of processing, new markets, et cetera. This 23 research must be carried out by and with native 24 people from the communities. 25 replacement of non-natives in government and 26 service positions in the communities by original 1.7 peoples. This alone would create a large number of community based and controlled employment opportunities. 20 reorientation of education and training programs h)



to enable original people to fill these kinds of jobs.

i) at a later stage royalties from non-renewable resource development must become available for reinvestment in the renewable sector.

If the renewable resource based industries develop in the western Arctic they will require non-renewable resources for energy, construction and operation.

Therefore, there must be no preemption of gravel, timber, water or other resources for oil and gas development without adequate consideration of future Inuvialuit needs for other purposes. Now, I referred to timber as a non-renewable resource there in some areas where it may not come back, at least not for a century.

Further, if oil and gas resources are developed, they must not all be exported without regard to the future economic needs of the region.

Natural gas as well as its byproducts must be available for local use.

The government has never taken alternative economic development seriously, and Inuvialuit do not expect it to do so now or in the future. It has reduced its efforts in this direction in its rush to support oil and gas development. The government could and should finance some of this development by way of the programs and services it provides to all Canadians. Only a land claim settlement, however, can provide the measure of control necessary



to implement local development. It must be well underway, before any pipeline is built.

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The Inuvialuit want to control their economic development and in the words of Peter Green from Paulatuk:

"We people are for development, but development has to be done according to our terms. If certain guidelines were set up by the people that lives here in this country, there may be certain types of development can go on. If not, if no consultation is done with the Inuit people that lives here, then forget about the thing because it will be for one thing, it will be a failure. A failure to both, maybe the government to the oil company, and worst of all to the people that lives here in Paulatuk".

Now, original people don't want to be just workers for someone else. They want to be professionals, administrators, business people and trades people. They want to take care of their own communities. They want a balanced, integrated and secure economy, not one which is dependent on one outside controlled industry that will eventually go away.

If the native population of the North is to be viewed as a mobile labour pool to be sent here and there as corporate resource development projects demand, then the fabric of community life and the traditional economy will surely be destroyed.

Accordingly, the bulk of native employment must be



community based and community controlled. This means there must be smaller scale, locally controlled enterprises which produce for local needs as well as for outside ones.

If alternative development based on a land claim settlement is not implemented prior to the construction of a pipeline we foresee the degradation of the traditional economy due to the decline of the resource base, continued undercapitalization, poor performance relative to the modern economy and the diminished ability of the people to participate in it effectively.

There is no evidence that any significant number of native people will become involved in the modern economy at any level than that which they are now, the lowest. Witnesses in the formal hearings, the community hearings and the southern hearings have given evidence that similar fates have overtaken native people in many other parts of the world where externally initiated and controlled industrial development has occurred on their lands.

We are aware of no contrary outcomes in similar situations and none has been described in evidence before you. The Inuvialuit of the western Arctic do not want to share this fate.

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I turn now, sir, to the potential impacts of this project and large projects on native life and communities. Native people have told this Inquiry that their culture and their way of life, despite the damage done by outsiders in the past, are not dead. They expressed a strong desire to retain their culture, their language, their way of life. They are concerned that their communities will be overrun by outsiders in the future, and that they will lose the control necessary to retain and develop their culture, institutions and ways. Let us examine again the things that they have to say. I'll quote now from Yvonne Allen Kisoun, who gave evidence in the community hearing in Inuvik. She said:

"We wish to become self-sufficient, proud members of Canada, and to contribute to that society. We can do that only if we have our pride, our culture, and our self-dignity. We can do that only if we have certain -- if we are certain of our traditional lands -- if we have certain of our traditional lands so that those who choose the traditional life may do so."

And Leslie Carpenter in Sachs Harbour spoke to you too, sir, and he said:
"They'll move into all our little towns and little settlements and they'll build right around us and we'll be caught in the middle with modernization growing fast. The way I see it is maybe like living in a ghetto.



Then that won't be our native life because we won't be free. Once you take our freedom, you take most of our life. I'm satisfied with my life now and the way I live. I don't think I really need a pipeline to brighten up my day."

Those, sir, are both young people that spoke to you, both teenagers, if you recall.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, I

Some of the indices of social

remember them both well.

MR. BAYLY: The adverse impacts of development and of the assumption of political, economic and social control by outsiders, have been documented by many witnesses. Of particular concern is the relationship between the recent introduction of wage employment to the small native Communities and the increasing incidence of alcohol consumption, violence, child abuse and neglect there.

disruption in the Northwest Territories appear to have stabilized or decreased in the last year coincident with decreased economic development activity. Both native and non-native witnesses suggested many reasons for this — the increased political awareness of native people and their desire to manage their own affairs, the increasing articulation of their own culture and values and pride in them, and the development of their own associations which are providing young people with alternative role models. If such a



massive project as the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline is allowed to proceed so as to undermine these positive developments there is everyprospect that the high levels of social and personal disruption will return, that the opportunity for the Inuvialuit to gain control of their own destiny will be forever lost.

special measures the impact of pipeline construction has been devastating on small native communities both close to the pipeline and distant from it. The Inuvialuit fear the north will become like the south.

As Elijah Ookpik stated to you in Aklavik:

In Alaska, without

"When the pipeline is here maybe they will
end up with lots of money but what's going
to happen later on? The people down in
Saskatchewan, down in Alberta, they got
Indian Reservations down there, that's what's
going to happen here. You can't hunt, they
kick you around, you can't hunt, you can't
fish, you can't even walk in the coffee
shop, they kick you out."

shop, they kick you out."

We have said that the anintenance of the viability of the small predominantly native communities is an essential condition of the survival of native society. While the Inuvialuit want the opportunity to participate in Canadian society, they do not want to be assimilated by it. Therefore the terms and conditions made by this Inquiry should seek to maximize the autonomy and self-development of the original peoples, and to insulate native

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society rather than integrate it with the pipeline and related developments.

There are several specific concerns. The first of these is inflation.

There is general agreement that pipeline wages will be very high relative to general income levels in the north. I won't discuss here whether that's due to long hours or high hourly wages. But many have expressed the fear that this will create an inflationary situation locally. The price of goods and services will rise, and all but the few who are earning pipeline wages will suffer accordingly. The applicants have expressed their conviction that this will be minimized but we believe that this problem is largely beyond their control. There is also the problem of wage differentials attracting many people out of essential community and business services since local employers could not compete with pipeline wages.

No generally accepted solutions to the inflation problem has been offered to this Inquiry and I include in the recommendations of the participants that we've read, sir, and COPE has none to offer either. COPE says simply that the effects of inflation may be intolerable for native people and that there is no justification for their having to bear this burden. We therefore say that solutions must be found before developments like the pipeline are authorized. The communities must be insulated from these inflationary impacts.



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regular supply of essential goods and services to native communities must be maintained. The provision of essential transport services to native communities must not be disrupted. This includes the price and availability of chartered aircraft as well as regular scheduled air service. Adequate and continuous telephone service must be maintained in all Northwest Territories communities — and I'm referring specifically to the pipeline impact region — for private as well as government and business users.

This will require adequate advance planning by the responsible agencies.

Employment recruitment. We have recommended that recruitment for industrial employment be restricted to the large centres. There has in the past been a decapitation effect of employment in which the leaders and most skilled in the small communities are continuously drawn off by employment pressures ebewhere. Again, COPE does not know all the answers to this problem but says that it must be solved before construction is authorized.

- (4) Day care. Where women are involved in wage employment, adequate and low cost day care centres must be available.
- (5) Separation of pipeline workers. There must be no access to the communities from pipeline or related construction camps, and vice versa. Workers hired in the south must be flown back to their point of hire when they go on vacation or rotation, or when



they quit or are fired. The Inuvialuit must have some control over who enters their communities and the authority to ban people who are offending the community. COPE supports many of the proposals of the applicants to effect such separation, and to control the activities of their workers. The evidence of union officials, however, as well as the apparently minimal discussions to date between the applicants, government and the appropriate unions, do not lead us to believe that the applicants are capable of fulfilling these promises.

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- (6) Control of transients. Two points in evidence stand out, one is that although the applicants' projects or proposed projects will be the cause of an influx of transients, the applicants do not have any significant control over the number and types of people who will come. The other is that so few transients are needed to create disruption and strife in the communities that their actual numbers are little consequence to the Inuvialuit. Accordingly, the communities should be able to control the hiring and firing of personnel in community service positions. Residence requirements for hunting, fishing and trapping permits must be ten years, except in the case of sports hunting which may be subject to special All necessary legislative changes must controls. be in force before construction is authorized.
- (7) Control of business and real estate. The co mmunities must have firm control over the establishment of all enterprises, public or private. This means



absolute control by the original people over business licences and real property purchases within and adjacent to the settlements.

These recommendations imply a significant transfer of power and control to the original peoples. COPE does not believe that this will happen in the absence of a land claims settlement. The construction of a pipeline prior to a land claims settlement would be prejudicial to the outcome of that settlement, since the essential requirements for the survival of native society would have already been jeopardized. As part of or in addition to a land claims settlement the original people must have the continuing power and control to negotiate on all social and economic developments affecting them as equals. The burden of proof of social and economic impact must lie with those who propose developments, not with those who must suffer the consequences.

Now there's a short section here on the role of government. The transfer of power and control COPE envisages in a land claims settlement will profoundly change the future role of government at all levels in the north. COPE says that these changes must come before a pipeline is authorized. As well, there must be a review of the programs and functions of these government agencies which will continue to function after a land claims settlement.

Both the Territorial and

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local government systems in the north are based on southern models and have been imposed without regard to the political traditions and practices of the original people. These alien systems have easily fallen into the effective control of outsiders, even where the original peoples are a majority of the electorate or of the governing body itself. Accordingly, these systems cannot be said to properly represent or effect the interests of the original peoples.

At the local level, settlement and hamlet councils have been given increasing fiscal responsibilities but little political authority. The linking of tax base to municipal responsibilities. according to the southern model, has meant that the smaller native communities have the least control and the larger, transient centres have the most. Inuvialuit do not reject the local government system, but they feel they need time to learnto use it and that certain important changes must be made to it. then will they realize effective participation in government at any level, and control over the things that are important to them. The prospect of a massive influx of transients as a result of pipeline construction and related development means that these changes must be made prior to authorization. Otherwise the possibility of native control will be jeopardized and the outcome of a land claims settlement prejudiced.

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We have some recommendations here with regard to government. First, that there must be a ten year residence requirement for voting in local or territorial elections or plebiscites.

Two, the linking of significant local responsibility to size and tax base must change, because it inherently puts the places where native people choose to live at disadvantages, at a disadvantage. The criteria for assuming increasing responsibilities for their own affairs must be set by the communities themselves.

In Alaska the mechanism of first class borough status has enabled the Inupiat of the North Slope to achieve strong local government, including taxation power and development within their boundaries. The Inuvialuit want at least such powers of control on development within their communities and upon their lands. The control and direction of local government councils by the Territorial Government must cease. Local councils must be free to deal with the issues they see as important.

Three, regardless of the outcome of a land claims settlement, some government agencies and services will continue to perform the same functions as they do today. Any project, such as a pipeline, will place great demands on many of these agencies and their services. Before the construction of a gas pipeline, an independent assessment and evaluation must be made of the relevant Federal and Territorial



Government departments and programs. With or without a pipeline, more money for these programs without an objective evaluation or their effectiveness will be futile.

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"in-house" assessment, which leaves out the original people. A major component of this review and evaluation of Federal and Territorial programs must be the degree of utilization by native people for their lack of it with these programs.

Now, in the next section we deal with the supporting services that are presently in place in the western Arctic, with their ability to deal with problems now and with the forecast of their ability to deal with them in the future.

The supporting service institutions and programs developed by the Federal and Territorial Governments show little evidence that original peoples were consulted or involved. Although Inuvialuit appreciate many of these services and programs, most are ineffective and inappropriate to meet their needs and solve their problems.

A basic right of Canadian citizens is to have some degree of influence and control over the institutions that serve them. Furthermore, input from those to whom services are provided makes it possible to design social programs so that they can most effectively meet the needs of the people. Original peoples in the North have never had this influence or control over institutions which serve them, and it



shows in the kind of institutions in the western Arctic and of the success of social programs here.

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Pipeline construction will bring many outsiders and rapid social changes into the western Arctic. This will intensify the current social, and health problems of the original peoples and put further pressures on government agencies which cannot handle even the present problems.

Before pipeline construction native people must have control of their own social and health program and guaranteed funding to overcome the current deficiencies in them. There must also be enough time, if and when a pipeline is approved, for Inuvialuit to develop their own social and health programs at community and regional levels.

We will examine three questions concerning health and social services and from these will be developed COPE's recommendations. The questions are as follows:

- What is the current level of social or health problem?
- 2) Are the presnt institutions or programs adequate to meet the present level of problems?
- 3) What is the probable impact of pipeline construction upon those problems and upon the services, institutions and programs presently dealing with them?

Despite many social and technological changes in the recent history of the western Arctic native people have not become southern



middle-class white people. Southern institutions imposed without regard for these cultural differences have failed in the past and will continue to fail unless they are based on the cultural values and perceptions of native people who live here. Nellie Cournoyea in evidence before you summed up the frustration of the original peoples, and she said:

"Each time we are asked for our knowledge, dur opinion, we build up our expectations that influence will be seen in the final outcome.

We have fed our knowledge and experience into government agencies over game laws, town structure housing, education, business or whatever, hoping to see meaningful decisions and planning.

You can search and search but nowhere in the final outcome can you ever find our contribution used for our benefit. It has only been because of concerted political pressure that a very few projects such as training and employment of native people has taken place".

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recommendations to be more than just a place to begin. The applicants have tentatively chosen the location of their camps, access roads, wharves and facilities. They have told us of their general plans for the isolation from the communities of pipeline workers, employment and hiring of native northerners, the use of local services and facilities. The general plans, locations and policies may change. Therefore, after the Berger Inquiry is over, native people and their



organizations must be able to continue to negotiate with government and industry on specific terms and conditions.

Neither applicant has told us enough to permit detailed planning. The research into social impacts by government and industry has been cursory at best and has been designed to promote the development preferences. Finally, there are no quarantees of sufficient lead times.

Now, in health services we make the following recommendations:

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1) COPE recommends that a task force be organized now to evaluate the present level in the Northwest Territories to identify specifically the current inadequacies, and to forecast potential development impacts upon medical services and the health of native peoples and others living in the western Arctic. This task force should study what has happened in Alaska, and should draw upon the Alaskan native health service experience in rural areas and the native non-profit corporations, and the health services in urban areas like Fairbanks, Anchorage and Valdez. This task force should be made up of respresentatives from medical services, the Department of National Health and Welfare, the Department of Social Development of the Territorial Government, and respresentatives of the native associations and communities in the area likely to experience the impacts. It might also include a hospital and university authorities



- outside the Northwest Territories.
- 2) Original people must be involved in the delivery of health care services to their own communities and in the evaluation and institution of health care programs and facilities.
- The Department of National Health and Welfare together with the native associations and the communities should establish local and regional advisory health boards. They should, within a set time period, take over the operation of health care services and facilities. Appropriate models include the Churchill Health Center, the James Bay Project, the Katen Health Center in Caughnawage, and the Alaska Native Non-Profit Corporations. Regional and local boards must be established and in operation before commencement of construction of a pipeline.

- 4) Original peoples must be recruited and trained in all levels of health care.
- and control of health care services. At this time,

  COPE does not support the recommendation that

  health care services be transferred from the

  Department of National Health and Welfare to the

  Territorial Government. There is no evidence

  that the Territorial Government will be any more

  responsive to the needs and concerns of Inuvialuit

  than the Department of National Health and Welfare.
- 6) Because the existing health care facilities in the western Arctic are presently utilized to capacity



or over-utilized, we recommend that pipeline personnel, contractors and their employees do not use existing facilities unless and until their carrying capacities have been increased to meet present and projected future demands of the local population as well as the increased demands placed on facilities, personnel, and services by this project.

7) The costs of expanding services to meet the direct and indirect demands of pipeline construction must be borne by the applicants.

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- 8) Medical examinations of pipeline workers should be carried out in southern hospitals except for those northern residents who are employed on the pipeline.
- 9) The capacity of the Tuktoyaktuk nursing station must be evaluated. Any plans to expand this nursing station must take into account not only the possible impacts on pipeline construction, but also of increasing and increased exploration and the construction of gas plants and ancillary facilities. Under no circumstances must the services extended to the residents of Tuktoyaktuk suffer or be curtailed.
- 10) An evaluation of the present nursing stations, and that's throughout the region, and their facilities and staff must be made to determine their present capacity and to forecast future needs.
- 11) The Community Health Aid Program must be expanded



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and upgraded to ensure that at least one community
health aid is working in each community. Continuing
education must be provided for these people. The
salaries of these people must be raised so that
they are competitive with short-term jobs in
pipeline construction and ongoing development.

- 12) The Department of National Health and Welfare

  must develop a trained interpreter corps immediately.

  Interpreters must be available in the Inuvik

  Hospital to provide interpretation into all the

  native languages used by the people in the region.

  We believe in most of the settlement nursing

  stations the community health worker could fill

  this role.
- Which has the responsibility to monitor the water supplies and the sewage effluent must ensure that they have adequate personnel prior to the commencement of pipeline construction. It is further recommended that before the pipeline construction Health and Welfare and the Territorial Government undertake an assessment of the adequacy of current services and the capacity to maintain these with the projected population increases.

Now, recommendations with regard to mental health. Good mental health has been linked to having control over one's own lives and one's own facilities. The prognosis is that the situation will deteriorate in the western Arctic if major development is to come to the Mackenzie region before



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satisfactory land claim settlements have been worked out with the Inuvialuit and the Dene. As a result of that, we recommend the following:

- 1) That in addition to the general health recommendations made above, a satisfactory land claim settlement which would restore to original peoples control over their lives and institutions is a basic requirement to the mental health of all people living in the Mackenzie region.
- 2) COPE recommends that a study be conducted of the Alaskan system of native professional and paraprofessional mental health care delivery systems and the development of a similar scheme in consultation with the communities which suits the requirements of the Inuvialuit.

Alcohol. Alcohol continues to be a problem for all people and a special problem for Inuvialuit. The level of alcohol related problems acts as a barometer of social and mental problems among original peoples. We have heard evidence that in the western Arctic there may just be a chance for the people to control the abuse of alcohol if they are given the time and the opportunity to do so prior to major developments in the area.

In some communities, people have begun to look to their own solutions to the alcohol problems.



We recommend the following

four things:

- (1) That more research be done not simply on alcohol but on the incidence of alcohol problems on various groups, races and cultures. Equally important is research into alternative methods of prevention, treatment and rehabilitation of alcoholics, which may work better in treating native peoples.
- (2) Inuvialuit must have the power and authority to determine and implement their own alcohol policies and programs. It is important that native people retain this control not only in communities where they hold a numerical majority, but in the larger communities where they are not. This might be achieved by long residency requirements to participate in alcohol plebiscites. COPE recommends a ten-year residency requirement.
- (3) COPE supports the recommendation of the unions with regard to the availability of alcohol in construction camps.
- (4) In all construction camps where native people are employed, there must be available a native alcohol counsellor who can communicate with employees in their own languages and who has had training in alcohol counselling. Training of native alcohol counsellors should involve native associations and communities.

Courts and the legal system.

There has been no evidence led on this subject, sir,
but on the last day we filed a brief that had been

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presented to the Department of Justice by COBE. Inuvialuit are not involved in a significant way in the Courts and the legal system. Judges, lawyers and police are almost all outsiders. Little time is spent in the individual communities which often raises problems in preparation and understanding. Evidence 6 from Alaska has indicated that big development has a major impact on Courts and legal systems. Not only will the needs of original peoples to understand and 12 have access to legal services increase, but the loads 10 on the personnel involved in these services will increase greatly. 12 ! COPE shares some of the 73. concerns of the Association of Municipalities in the 7 1 impending need for increased law enforcement personnel. 7 ~ As a result, COPE recommends the following three things: 7.7 (1) A native legal worker program and community legal centre must be funded and in operation prior to the authorization of any pipeline construction. 2) (2) There must be an assessment of the correctional facilities and programs in the Northwest Territories 22 and an evaluation of those facilities for the treatment, punishment and rehabilitation of offenders 24 with alcohol problems. 25 (3) There must be a community by community assessment 26 of law enforcement needs in consultation with 27

and old, have repeatedly identified the school and

Education. Inuvialuit, young

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hostel system as the single most important factor in the loss of language, culture, traditional skills and values. Their evidence has been supported by that of professionals.

As a result, we recommend

the following:

With or without a pipeline Inuvialuit must be guaranteed control and direction of the educational institutions and programs locally available to them.

They must have the means to direct and control their own education system including curriculum and programs, hiring and firing of teachers and staff, training and in-service programs for all positions. If Inuvialuit do not gain this control prior to the construction of a Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, they will lose this Opportunity forever. It is not intended that the interests of non-native people should be ignored, but native people must have both the means and control to and training provide the education that their people require.

- (2) Community control over education must not continue to be linked to property taxes. This basis for local control of education threatens to eliminate any hope of native control over education in the smaller settlements.
- (3) Research and curriculum development must be reoriented to the needs of original people.
- (4) Education must include instruction in the languages of original peoples. Language is inseparable from culture, values and personal identity.
- (5) Original peoples must have input into the content



of programming of radio and television in the

THE COMMISSIONER: Recommendation 4, you haven't made yourself perfectly clear, as the saying goes. Do you intend that the languages of the original peoples be taught as subjects or that they should in addition be the languages of instruction in other subjects?

MR. BAYLY: I think, sir, that's something that the communities should decide themselves. It may vary from community to community.

THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

Now, recreation. Yes sir?

MR. BAYLY: Now on the

subject of recreation. Northern recreation programs and facilities have been developed without the involvement of original peoples with the exception of the Northern Games and TEST ski program. Both of these programs were initiated at a community level and involved many people of all ages and backgrounds. In comparison with other sports complexes these sorts of projects are underfunded.

Although the development of community based and initiated recreational programs and facilities cannot solve the problems of rapid social and economic change which will accompany big development, it can assist people in dealing with these impacts and help to foster a sense of community. Again, referring to Yvonne Allen Kisoun in Inuvik, she stated the following:



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"There was a limited amount of social and recreational life when we returned home."

Referring to returning home from the hostels.

"The result, frustration and boredom, which led to alcoholism, drugs, violence and death. All this has been happening in the past 15 years."

COPE therefore recommends
that funding and technical assistance must be available
for native communities and associations to develop
their own recreational facilities and programs.

In Inuvik, where the population is predominantly nonnative, native associations must be guaranteed funding
for the recreational programs they have already
established and for the development of further
cultural and recreational programs which they have
been planning and which they may plan in the future.

delivery, COPE recommends that in consultation with native associations and the communities that a means be developed so that native people who possess skills and wish to work on the pipeline and related facilities can be certified objectively on the basis of their skills and obtain union membership with a minimum of complicated procedures.

Turning now to the manpower

(2) COPE supports the union recommendation about a community information program to provide easily understandable materials about unions and how to obtain membership. There must be a local employment officer in each community thoroughly knowledgeable about



union membership requirements, the jobs available on pipeline and ancillary facilities, and the skill levels required.

- (3) There must be a clear and swift grievance procedure for all northern people who feel they have not been classified in accordance with their skills or who feel they are being discriminated against.

  Original peoples must be members of any body which discusses grievances.
- (4) There must be a native counselling system with native counsellors in each camp which would be independent of unions, contractors, applicants and government.
- (5) COPE supports the recommendations of the unions and the Gemini North panel that there should be a single agency which deals with all aspects of pipeline employment, recruitment, training and union membership with strong powers of enforcement where unions, contractors, pipeline companies or governments are not living up to their responsibilities and to whatever stipulations may be established for the construction of northern pipeline or related facilities.
- (6) COPE supports the recommendations of the union that no hiring halls be established in the Northwest Territories. No union residents and union members from outside must only obtain pipeline employment through established hiring halls in Edmonton and other southern locations. Northwest Territories residents must be able to remain in their own communities until they actually have a job. COPE recognizes that



there may be problems with the customary 48-hour dispatch limit for pipeline construction and recommends that they continue to be consulted about this.

- (7) COPE recommends that new members of unions be able to pay union initiation fees and dues through payroll deductions.
- (8) COPE strongly recommends further discussions between unions, pipeline contrac tors, and native organizations on the subject of work schedules. COPE is not satisfied that pipeline employment schedules must be those used in Alaska. Every effort must be used in consultation with communities and native associations to work out schedules which will accommodate local people as well as be efficient and economic from the point of view of pipeline construction.

Now, on regional and community planning. COPE is not opposed to realistic planning and actively supports proper planning if it is done in consultation with people in the communities and through their various associations. So far the Federal and Territorial Governments have failed to adequately consult with the people and may be repeating the same mistakes that have occurred in Alaska. In the various assessments and planning efforts there have been no objective assessment of either socioeconomic or environmental impacts by Federal or Territorial Governments. The information given to the communities has been misleading, inadequate, and the planners have been perceived by people in the communities as proponents of the development whose



job is merely to prepare the people for the impacts of hydrocarbon development.

COPE agrees that there must be adequate planning and impact assessment before the construction of a pipeline and an energy corridor.

As a result, we recommend the

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- (1) To begin with, there must be an in-depth analysis of potential social and economic impacts of the construction project. The proceedings of this Inquiry which has enabled the various interest groups to do their own assessments and to identify what each feels is important is a good place to begin. From the proceedings, exhibits, recommendations, terms and conditions, an identification of some of the problems and possible solutions will be found. This will not provide a substitute for planning. Rather, we see it as an effective tool.
- (2) Inuvialuit in their communities and through their associations must be involved in each stage of identification of impacts and the planning to meet those impacts. Their involvement must not end with the end of this Inquiry. Local communities and the regional native associations must have the resources to participate in the planning process. They must be able to hire staff and to commission research when they feel it is required, and must be able to travel and work in the communities.
- (3) Because the details of the proposed project have not and perhaps cannot be outlined at this time by the



applicants, not only the native associations but the people in the communities must continue to be consulted about details on the possible impact upon their communities, and upon their land. This consultation should follow the model proposed in the community consultation section of this document. It is only through this form of consultation on the specifics of any project that planning can be done which will not only satisfy the planners but also meet the needs and desires of the people in the communities.

(4) The regional and community planning process must include the various options which may be open to or put forward by the original peoples. It is not satisfactory — it is not a satisfactory technique of planning to simply propose ways in which people can accommodate to plans already made.

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Now, with regard to a

Regional Impact Information Centre, we recommend the following:

COPE recommends that there be established a
Regional Impact Information Centre based on the model
of the Fairbanks Impact Information Centre. The
establishment of this centre should begin well in
advance of the pipeline construction. It is most
important to establish baseline data in many areas
prior to the startup of stockpiling and construction.

(2) COPE recommends the Regional Impact Information
Centre in the Mackenzie Delta area be established

- Centre in the Mackenzie Delta area be established at Tuktoyaktuk but that it be so funded and staffed so that it is able to serve the outlying communities in the COPE region. The lack of an Impact Information Centre in outlying rural areas was identified as a problem for both residents and government in Alaska in order to establish accurate information on the needs and the areas of strain on human and community resources.
- (3) The centre must be locally controlled with representatives from all groups in the region including the following: Native associations, government, business, pipeline companies, the Chamber of Commerce, the Association of Municipalities, the Mental Health Association, and perhaps others. It must be free of control either political or economic by any one interest group.

Now on the subject of lead times, and Arctic Gas mentioned that the native groups



had not suggested a lead time in a number of years.

I'll address myself to this and the reasons why not.

Sufficient lead time to settle land claims, to implement programs that are agreed upon, to select land, to permit reviews of government polices and procedures, to set up authorities, to build hospitals, to train personnel and to expand services are requirements not only of the native people but of government and of industry. The Federal Government has allowed this Inquiry to continue so that this part of the job can be done right. But this is not the only thing that has to be done before major development can be introduced to the Western Arctic without having devastating effects on the people and upon the environment.

Whether it is to settle land claims or to set up a pipeline authority, people have suggested lead times which vary from more than ten years to a year to 18 months. COPE is unable to say how many years are required. We have through this document given a list of those things which Inuvialuit feel must be done prior to the commencement of major development in the COPE region. There may be others which arise through negotiations of land claims, review of government policies and services, setting up of land use plans, authorities, etc.

The gas companies need lead times as well. Recent revelations by Arctic Gas that much of their frost heave experimentation must be done again should give us all fair warning that despite their good faith and good intentions they

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have not solved all the problems. It is doubtful that 1

they have even discovered all the problems and their implications. Now, continuing on from

lead times, we suggested that there may be need for legislation in some areas, and if this pipeline is going to be built at all and if it's going to be built right the government also needs lead times to review its existing legislation, to draft and pass any new legislation which may be required before development can proceed. This COPE believes involves procedures which might well take a number of years. As we have stated elsewhere in this document, it is not satisfactory to do a band-aid job on existing legislation and existing authorities. It is not adequate to govern this Territory or to police such a mammoth project merely by adding regulations under existing Statutes.

COPE therefore recommends that a thorough review of existing legislation which might affect land claims, land use planning, and the pipeline carried out by Federal and Territorial Governments in consultation with local and particularly with original peoples to assess the present laws, to evaluate and determine the requirements for any new laws, and to draft and pass new legislation which is thoughtful, complete and just.

Now, sir, that completes the argument that we wish to address to you with the exception of remarks I wish to address to the arguments



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of some of the other participants. If you wish, it might be an appropriate time to take a short break.

THE COMMISSIONER: All right,

we'll take a few moments.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MOMENTS)

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. BAYLY: I have been asked by Commission counsel to begin with my compliment of them, and I will.

We have reviewed the argument of Commission counsel or the document that they have prepared and we extend our compliments to the Inquiry staff for identifying the major and most of the minor issues before the Inquiry.

We realize that the job was a big one, and that their time was short, and no doubt with more time they would have polished the work, and in the words of my instructions from the COPE Board of Directors, made it better and shorter.

Now we faced many of the same problems that Commission counsel had, and no doubt made some of the same mistakes, and perhaps others in addition. While it is important to us and to our clients that our mistakes be found and corrected, we believe it is at least as important that those problems that we see in Commission counsel's argument be brought to your attention before you sit down and with their assistance draft your report.

In a few days we will submit to you a list of specific recommendations from the



Commission counsel argument which we believe are not in the COPE I.T.C. interest; similarly to the fashion that's been outlined by Mr. Genest.

Today I will address myself to six problems which are fundamental and recurring in the report.

We believe these are correctible, but if they are not corrected, the advice given to you may be flawed and misleading. These are -- and I'll list them first:

- Sloppy thinking, which includes loose wording and poorly thought-out recommendations.
- 2. Unsupported recommendations which includes those unsupported by evidence or unsupportable on the references given. In this we will discuss the ranking of evidence.
- 3. Unsupportable recommendations
  - 4. Unworkable recommendations
  - 5. Inconsistencies within the document itself, which includes (a) conflicting recommendations
    - (b) duplication. Perhaps we shouldn't be talking about it because we do a lot of it ourselves.
      - (c) failing to follow up a point.
    - 6. Land claims, and that involves comments on sorting out the problems of arguing in the alternative.

Now, I'll give you some examples of the sloppy thinking category, and I'll refer to basic issues at page 5 and just let you know what the questions are that I have on that.

There it states that the



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authority would be created to cope with problems
that lie beyond the normal capabilities of various
levels of government, and it goes on to say that
the authority would thus be interposed between the
company and the Territory and other physical processes
of the impact region.

Now, we're confused by this because we don't know what problems might lie beyond the normal capabilities of government, what levels of government, and what imposing an authority between companies, government and other physical processes mean.

## Page 7,

"Existing government machinery in the Northwest Territories to be examined to determine how much of it is redundant."

Now we question how you do that. If it's an in-house assessment, what is the criteria of "redundant"? And in practical terms, how do you take what youfind redundant and have it converted to some purposeful use to either coping with the pipeline or dismissing staff or reassignment?

On page -- I beg your

pardon?

THE COMMISSIONER: This

comment, staff, where's that?

also come under the

MR. BAYLY: That should impractical recommendations,

or unworkable ones.

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Unsupported



by history.

MR. BAYLY: Right.

On page 27 in the discussion

on native society, still on point 1, the report says:

"It is not easy to see ways in which entry to
these communities could be restricted without
establishing controls that might be profoundly
inconsistent with long-term objectives."

We question what this means and what those long-term objectives are, and what kind of controls they are referring to, and there doesn't seem to be any relationship of that recommendation or that concern with any evidence.

Now, on pages 25, 29 and 30, there are some evidence of duplication and contradiction. On page 25 the report says that:

"The Territorial Government should upgrade the collection of health care data,"

"Health and welfare should begin to collect sound baseline data on health problems."

Now, again on native society under the heading, "Renewable Resources," there's an item called "Vulnerability Strees Level." Well, we couldn't figure out what that was or how it might be measured and there's no evidence that we have in the Inquiry that suggests what it is or how you would measure it.

Under the "Action Community"

section --

but on page 29 they say,



what kind of interference.

1	THE COMMISSIONER: It sounds
2	like one of those expressions that will find its
3	way into a sociological textbook before long.
4	MR. BAYLY: We have Peter
5	Usher working on that.
6	Under "Action Communities
7	Impact Information", page 8,
8	"One staff member should, if possible, be
3	recruited from the region,"
10	is the recommendation. Now to us that sounds like
11	a government hiring provision about which they
12	later apologize for because it wasn't possible.
13	Who decides what "if possible" means and on what
14	basis a staff member is recruited? We feel that is
15	just a very loosely worded recommendation and it's
16	open to being disregarded.
17	Now on housing,
18	"Transients should be discouraged from
19	going to smaller centres."
20	It doesn't say how, and suppose they aren't, what
21	way of enforcing this recommendation is there?
22	Now, in "Industrial Develop-
23	ment" the report states this is page 69:
24	"Great care not to interfere beyond the point
25	of absolute necessity must be taken."
26	We feel that that's the kind of recommendation we
27	were concenred about in the applicants' applica-
28	tions. It doesn't tell you anything very much. It
29	doesn't tell you what "absolute necessity" is, or



On the subject of regional economic planning there's a statement that says:

"There must be followup public discussion."

It doesn't say who defines "public discussion" and who decides when it has taken place. The loose wordings provide no effective guarantee, and merely support our contention that control must lie with native people.

Now, on northern business, there's another problem of loose wording that I'd just like to refer to. Recommendation 2,

"On the establishment of a developm ent corporation, government personnel and government people."

What is the relationship of this corporation to native people? It isn't disclosed.

Evidently the Commission staff was thinking of something else for native business because they go on to say that,

"The corporation wouldn't hae jurisdiction in areas encompassed by land claims settlement."

On page 18 they continue on the topic of native entrepreneurship and mention native corporations, which are regionally or community based. We're concerned here that they may be talking about the Nunavut proposal which is not before you, and in fact is not before the Government of Canada.

for an economic development corporation for the north was, I think, first put forward by the Carrothers

THE COMMISSIONER: The proposal



Commission, more than a decade ago. 1 MR. BAYLY: I realize that, sin. 2 It's just that --3 ., THE COMMISSIONER: Oh no. I A understand your point. Don't worry, I've got it. 5 MR. BAYLY: Now, in this 6 sloppy thinking category we put an item called indad-7 1 quate -- yes? 8 THE COMMISSIONER: Is this 9 still category 1? 10 MR. BAYLY: Yes. 7.7 MR. SCOTT: I wish Mr. Bavly 12 could be induced to call it "category 1". 13 MR. BAYLY: We've got an item 14 called "Inadequate Reference". Now, in the section 15 on native society and wildlife management we notice 16 there's no reference or discussion of the hunting 17 rights brief, Exhibit 687, which was submitted. We 18 feel that that should be referred to in the discussion, 19 whether it's supported or dismissed. 20 Now, there are references 21 in this section to Mr. Beakhust and Mr. Longlitz, but 22 they spoke of land management, not of wildlife manage-23 ment, and no other references are given, as I say, 24 on this section. 25 Now we go onto recommendations 26 that are unsupported by the evidence. 27 Now, on the subject of country 28

foods, regarding the inadequate documentation of

harvest by the Government of the Northwest Territories

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data collection, the only evidence I gather we have from this is from Peter Usher, and he says that the Northwest Territories statistics were not designed to do this documentation, so they could hardly be blamed for not doing it.

You cannot reasonably expect to devise a system which would provide accurate totals on a regional and territory-wide basis of actual harvest, and the disposition of country food. The best we can hope for is to use the existing systems and make proper estimates of the error factor. This data, in other words, just doesn't exist. So we wonder what the basis in evidence is for this recommendation.

Now on the subject of stability and growth in local government, there's an idea that the physical authority should be based on wealth embodied in the land in the zone of influence. Maybe this is a good idea but nobody raised it in evidence. Should solutions be bandied about that are very tentative and have never been discussed and tested with anyone? Maybe they should, but that's a question we have about it.

Now, again on unsupported recommendations, on page 5 of "Native Society" a statement was made that,

"A major characteristic of native society is the degree to which it is highly adaptable."

Now we were unable to find any references and the



definition of "adaptability". How do you measure
it? We've heard evidence that this is the area
with the second-highest per capita alcohol consumption
in Canada and we wonder whether that's a way to
measure adaptability?



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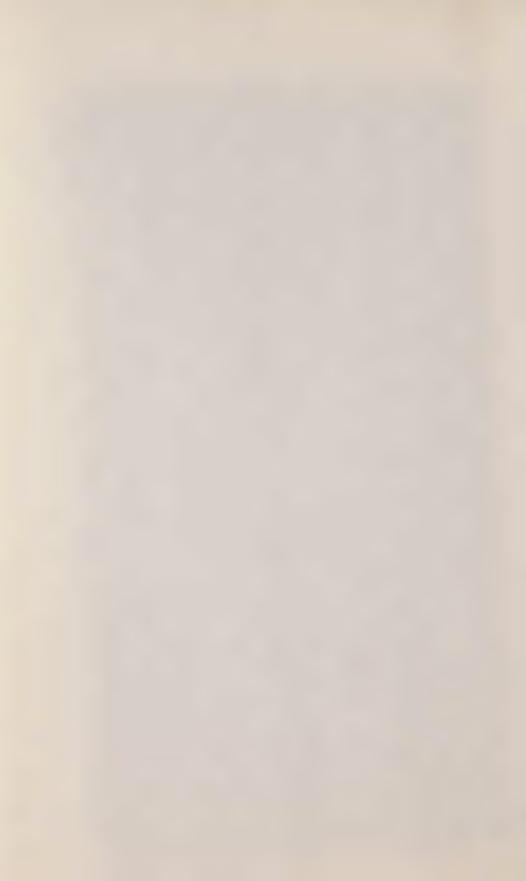
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Now, on the subject of action communities again an unsupported recommendation. The impact information is discussed and a statement is made that the kind of information collected and disseminated should be a matter of judgment of the professional staff. Later on at page 12 they say:

"Costs to the impact information center should be borne by the company. Staff of each impact information center established by an advisory community within the community, and that each impact information center should concern itself with social variables and processes, et cetera".

Now, the evidence we had on the impact information center came from Mim Dixon. Now, she didn't say these things. This isn't a model of the Fairbanks Information Center. We wonder what evidence is relied upon or what thinking goes into the basic changes that are made in the concept. This didn't come out in cross-examination either, as we understand.

Now on alcohol there's a recommendation, number 6, in which it is recommended that a large rehabilitation center should be established similar to Poundmaker or Henwood. Now, there's no evidence that such centers are effective, and the only evidence on those centers came from Sam Raddi and Don Bruce who said that Henwood hadn't been very successful with native people. There are no reports filed that suggest support for this particular idea either.



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page 48 of Employment and Training. An employment advisory and counselling program should be established by the owner, through the contractor, to provide support and assistance primarily to native workers in construction camps. We don't know where that recommendation came from. It's not what the union said.

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me. would you repeat that. What was that one?

MR. BAYLY: It said that an employment advisory and counselling program should be established by the owner, which I presume is the pipeline company, through his contractor, to provide support and assistance primarily to native workers in construction camps.

Now, the evidence lead by Commission counsel from the union people and particularly the representative of the Labourer's Union said an independent counselling system was best. As I say, there doesn't seem to be any other evidence that this particular recommendation is based on.

Now, on page 60 again on Employment and Training. The applicants have indicated that they will permit a more flexible rotation period for northerners. That's fine, but the evidence that Commission counsel lead from the union people and the Pipeline Advisory Council and the Gemini North Study that was lead by them as well is that the contractors and unions are the people that decide on the rotation schedule.



Again, maybe their recommendation

is a good one but it has not met the evidence which has been lead before you, sir. On the subject of environmental indexes and this is again an unsupported recommendation. Now, this section of argument rests rather weakly on a comment made by Dr.Wilimovsky in cross-examination by Mr. Scott. Basically the nine pages of this section in the argument suggest that a single number be established to measure the quality of the environment and the quality of life.

The references cited include books and articles which have not been presented as evidence in this Inquiry and they even include personal communications from a Mr. H. Inhaber who seems to be the government employee mostly familiar with such work. Now, certainly we haven't heard of him before this as being involved in this, nor was he called as a witness.

Now, COPE is opposed both to the methods of Commission counsel presenting these data and to the concept of an externally derived environmental index. There has been no opportunity to test either the idea of environmental indexes or the proposed methodology in cross-examination. Other scientists may have ideas which counter those of Inhaber, and to borrow a bit of this method that has been used by Commission counsel in this one, in conversation with Lorraine Allison of the COPE staff, Dr. Geist disagreed with this particular theory.

In other words, this thing could



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go on forever with everybody gathering personal opinion.

Now, we have heard a lot in this Inquiry about how

native views of life and their values may differ from

those of southern Canadians and it's for this reason

that we feel this environmental index is something which

may be very important, and if it was something that they

wanted to put forward, they ought to have lead the

evidence.

Now, with regard to referencing, the entire section on environmental indexes is essentially unsupported by the evidence before the Inquiry. We recognize that you need not be restricted in your report to evidence which has been presented before you. However, throughout the Commission counsel report, extensive use has been made of reports and documents which are not exhibits before this Inquiry, and personal communications. None of these things are available for the testing, either by applicants or by participants.

Now, out of that arises a suggestion that we have to you, sir, when you're writing your report, and we suggest you consider the information before you in a weighted manner. First, and of most importance, as you have said yourself, should be the evidence before you in the community hearings.

Second should be the formal evidence which has been lead and tested in cross-examination.

Third, you should consider the

exhibits.



Fourth, you should consider published documents which have not been presented to the Inquiry. And lightest in weight should come information relayed to you by personal communications or private correspondence.

Now, under the heading,
"Unsupportable recommendations". As I said, those are
the ones that may be—they may be good recommendations
but they're not supported by the evidence. These are
ones we feel are not supportable at all.

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,

Mr. Bayly. So there will be no misunderstanding, what

I said about the evidence given by the people at the

community hearings was that so far as this Inquiry was

concerned with making a determination of the state of

native goals, native preferences and native

aspirations, the best evidence was what the native

peoples themselves had told me at the community hearings.

Now, that's as far as I went.

MR. BAYLY: We recognize that

sir. We're not suggesting that the evidence of someone who is not an engineer in the field who has given evidence in the Toronto community hearings, for example, be weighted over that of Dr. Clark's. That's not our intention to restrict or to suggest that you restrict yourself in that way.

Now, in unsupportable recommendations, in the section under native society, on wildlife management, all the recommendations appear to COPE to be scientifically unsupportable, because the



basic thesis is that wildlife resources be managed on a community by community basis. Now, no wildlife manager could support such a recommendation. Resources must be managed on a population basis, and a given population such as the Porcupine caribou herd, for example, may at some time of the year use lands far removed from a community which depends upon this resource.

All the recommendations in this section suffer the same deficiency. Now, possibly in this case the people in charge with writing socioeconomic terms and conditions did not seek the advise of the environmental experts who are also seconded to your staff. This may be a factor related to the time that Commission counsel had to put the report together. As I say, we're trying to suggest these in a spirit of cooperative criticism.

THE COMMISSIONER: I'm sure Mr. Scott and the staff are receiving them in that same spirit.

MR. BAYLY: They look awfully glum

sir.

MR. SCOTT: We asked for them and we're glad to have them. I might just interject in fairness to those who've participated in preparing these that so far, and I know Mr. Bayly isn't finished with his list, he's commented primarily on recommendations that we've made that arose out of phase four evidence, and as he will recognize, the preparation of those recommendations had to begin before all the evidence was



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in and there has been a particular problem in preparing phase four recommendations that has perhaps lead to some of the matters that he's guite justly raised.

MR. BAYLY: We understand that

MR. SCOTT: We plead guilty with explanation with respect to some of them.

MR. BAYLY: I recommend a light

MR. SCOTT: How about a

conditional discharge?

MR. BAYLY: You'll never get that. not until this is over.

Now, the reason that we feel this recommendation is unsupportable is because we looked at that problem ourselves and in consultation with biologists and with wildlife managers, we put forward a recommendation that populations be managed--I'm sorry, that populations be managed rather than the wildlife resources be managed on a community by community basis.

Now, another one that we felt we unsupportable refers to stability and growth and specifically to regional wage levels and indexing of incomes. Now, both these recommendations deal with the problem of inflation and there has been much assertion about inflation and there's been very little evidence.

THE COMMISSIONER: Will you excuse me a moment. The last point you made; I don't know what conduced the staff to make that recommendation



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No doubt they had what seemed to be appropriate grounds. One of the arguments that virtually all the native people have brought before me and I think all the native organizations is that the native people in some fashions should play a very large part in the management of wildlife resources.

population basis, which on the face of it seems logical, then that may have some implications which you might and Dr. Usher and the COPE Board might bear in mind in regard to the whole question of regional native organizations themselves. On what level ought there to be a contribution made? I hope it's understood that all the words I'm choosing are neutral words. What level ought there to be a contribution made by native people in the management of those populations, the Porcupine caribou herd being a good example, and once you've determined that, what implications does that hold with respect to the form that native control of their own lives might take.

We have heard from native organizations the argument that they--

MR. BAYLY: Sorry.

THE COMMISSIONER: It's all right.

That's a technique Mr. Steeves uses in cross-examination.

MR. BAYLY: That wasn't the inter-

tion, sir.

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put it this way.

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THE COMMISSIONER: Let me

MR. BAYLY: I wanted to make sure

I knew what you were talking about.

THE COMMISSIONER: Virtually

all of the -- well, it will be on the transcript.

I'm not asking you to respond now, but in your written submissions you might reflect on this.

The native organizations have urged that they should have a measure of selfdetermination. Now, if one of the elements of selfdetermination is a measure of control over the management of wildlife, if that can only be done on a population by population footing, what implications does that have so far as the form of native institutions to control their own lives is concerned? That's all I'm getting at, and I'm using words, that as I say are, I hope, neutral words, but that is a matter that has been raised in community after Community. The staff obviously has sought to grapple with it.

You've pointed out what appears to be weakness in their reasoning. I'm saying to you and COPE, "All right, in your written submissions you tell me how you would go about it."

MR. BAYLY: We'll do that, I think the longer version of our recommendations we refer to the problems and possible involvement at international, national and local levels; but without suggesting a form. We may not be able to do



that in writing to you, but we will address ourselves to it again.

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THE COMMISSIONER: O.K., sorry, carry on. I think we were in the midst of category 3 and working swiftly to lunch.

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$$  BAYLY: I think we're just about finished "Unworkables", sir.

What I was saying about inflation was that there's been a lot of concern expressed about it, but very little in the way of solutions presented in evidence, or possible solutions. Now, the solutions that were offered by Commission counsel were never offered in evidence and were never tested in cross-examination or in consultation with anybody, research or resource people.

Now, we realize the intention is to protect northern people and northern native people. But what we're concerned with is that this may be a recommendation to the problem that the whole country is trying to grapple with. What do you do with inflation? If they can't solve it in Ottawa, it seems to us it may be fatuous to just plug in a solution because you feel you have to have one, and it raises a problem with Commission counsel's recommendations which I think they should recognize and may already have done so, that they may have tried to answer unanswerable questions. All they may be able to do in some areas is to address themselves to problems and say that solutions must be found.

THE COMMISSIONER: It may be



appropriate in some instances to say, "Let's not 1 kid ourselves, there are no solutions." 2 MR. BAYLY: Correct. THE COMMISSIONER: And that 4 is something that the Inquiry must be prepared to do 5 in appropriate circumstances. 5 MR. BAYLY: I agree, sir, and we've heard evidence from various people that there are costs of development. They can be mitigated, they can be lessened, but they can't be wished away. 10 THE COMMISSIONER: And another 11 program, another set of offices established in Ottawa 12 or Yellowknife, another group of public servants doing their best to grapple with the problem may not in 14 some instances make any difference at all. MR. BAYLY: Correct. 16 THE COMMISSIONER: And if that 17 is the conclusion that the Inquiry must reach in 13 certain instances, then sobeit. 19 MR. BAYLY: I'll go on then, sir, to inconsistencies and recommendations which may 2.1 conflict with one another. : 2 Now, in the land claim section there is a concern expressed throughout about the lack of influence of native people politically and upon institutions in the Territories, and yet the recommendations leave it up to the government to determine how to be responsive to native people. That doesn't appear to be the kind of things people

were talking about in the communities when they



discussed what their land daims should involve.

THE COMMISSIONER: What did

they say, the staff?

MR. BAYLY: The complaint of the staff, or the concern was there is a lack of influence politically of native people in the Western Arctic, and upon the institutions that serve them. But the recommendation in some areas of the report leave it to the government to determine how to be responsive to native people.

Now that doesn't deal with the evidence of people wanting to take control over various aspects of their life. Whether it's rejected or not, we submit that it should be dealt with.

Now, there is as well a generality on the establishment of Advisory Committees, authorities, local Medical Advisory Boards, and we feel that these recommendations in the land claims section may conflict with the other things they have recommended in that section.

Now in the first section as well -- turn just to another example of this -- an agency is referred to right at the beginning of the report. Now, whether that agency is meant to be the authority or whether it just—sort of disappears we weren't able to find out, but as I say, an agency was described and said it would be referred to later; it disappeared. That appears to be the kind of thing that can be --

MR. SCOTT: You'll find it







at page 1 of the recommendations that deal with 1 socio-economic conditions. 2 MR. BAYLY: No. 3 MR. SCOTT: I may have the 4 page wrong. 5 MR. BAYLY: There seems to 6 be a discrepancy, sir, between authority and agency. Maybe they're the same thing but if they are, why don't 8 they say so? MR. SCOTT: They aren't 10 necessarily the same thing. As the introduction 11 makes clear, the socio-economic recommendations were 12 predicated on the existence of the agency that is 13 described. Whether that becomes the authority is 74 the question left to be dealt with. In preparing 15 those recommendations it was felt necessary to speak 16 of the agency in those terms and I think at the very 17 beginning it's discussed. I can't put my hand on it 18 right now. 19 MR. BAYLY: Well, perhaps we could just recommend that it be made clearer and 21 better. 22 THE COMMISSIONER: I think 23 Mr. Scott's made a note of that. 2.4 MR. BAYLY: Now, the last 25 subject is on land claims, and two cases are made. 26 First that a land claims settlement be implemented 27 which transfers control of certain things to native 28 people and quarantees their survival as they wish it 29

within the Canadian nation. Now, secondly, the

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land claims argument that addresses itself to the area of land claims says that if there is no land claims or if there is a staged or phased land claim certain things must be done to guarantee the survival of native peoples and the things that they hold as valuable.

We found in reading the report that these two cases are intertwined and our recommendation there would be to look at it very carefully and see whether really Commission counsel is putting an argument in the alternative for your consideration, and if they are, to separate those out so that they can be more easily understood, because I think that's an important issue before you and should be made as clear for you as possible.

THE COMMISSIONER: It's certainly an important issue. They have -- would you mind restating your objection to their treatment of land claims?

MR. BAYLY: There are two ideas put forward in the report, one in the land claims section and one in the general introduction and throughout the socio-economic portion of the report. One is basically,

"Settle land claims and give native people control over things so that they can run their own lives."

The other is:

"If a land claims settlement doesn't come before major development, there would have



to be certain guarantees made to native people so that they aren't completely lost."

THE COMMISSIONER: Stopping

there, I take it you don't object to their dealing with the two cases in that way.

MR. BAYLY: No sir, I don't object to that at all. I'm just saying that we were confused by it and projecting ourselves into your position, if that advice is given to you we're just suggesting that they separate the cases out in their own mines before presenting them because they're two very different situations and should be dealt with as such, in our opinion.

Now, let me emphasize again and strongly, sir, that this criticism of Commission counsel's recommendations is meant to be helpful to you. We want to improve their ability to advise you clearly and thoughtfully when you request their assistance.

Now, I've reminded you earlier that your own statements say that where the effects on native people are concerned, that the evidence heard in the communities is the most important and it must rank in that area in importance above the other evidence, because it's the voice of the people in the Mackenzie Valley and the delta region who will reap the rewards and the sorrows of whatever happens. Let me say clearly that the Inuvialuit have a vested interest in the quality and completeness of your report, and it's for that reason that we



address these criticisms to the Commission counsel's submission.

Now we know that you face time pressures that are imposed by others upon you, and by you upon your staff. We submit thatyou should resist the temptation to sacrifice in any way the quality of the report or the delivery of your report by any prearranged date.

You have said that the people of Canada must take the time to come to an informed decision. We submit, sir, so must you. The report has to be the best. Inuvialuit are convinced it can be and their future may depend upon it.

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If a few poorly thought out recommendations give detractors a chance to dismiss the report as misguided or shallow or contradictory or wrong and the past two years of work may gather dust on the shelves. It's in this spirit of concern and helpfulness that we have criticized this work.

Now, if I may now turn perhaps a less charitable eye in the arguments of Arctic Gas. On March 3, 1975 this applicant appeared through Mr. Genest with a proposal to build a pipeline which would not only supply gas to southern markets but would also cure the social and economic ills of the Mackenzie District.

On November 15, 1976 Mr. Genest returned after nineteen months of evidence had been heard from hundreds of witnesses with virtually the same argument in his briefcase. I believe this Inquiry, if that is the case, has taught Arctic Gas very little and that saddens and distresses me. Arctic Gas appears to have treated the final argument as a sort of high school debate and they've marshalled evidence in support of their case and ignored that which is not helpful or in conflict with their original position.

I will illustrate this with three examples. First, at page 31646 of Volume 200, Mr. Genest stressed the importance of your having a true assessment of the state of northern society. He then painted a picture for you of a native population in sore need of jobs, in desperate poverty, and largely



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unsuited to pursuing resource based activities, renewable resource based activities.

 $$\operatorname{\textsc{He}}$$  stated at page 31650 that the evidence, and I quote:

"Is clear beyond argument that renewable resource oriented economy and the small scale activities...", which he refers to, and I'm in closed quotes here,

"...can't provide enough jobs for native people".

Now, Arctic Gas called no evidence on the capacity of the renewable resource base to support native people, and Mr. Genest in making this statement to you, sir, ignored the evidence called from Mr. Snowden, Mr. Currie, and Dr. Usher. Now, putting aside which theory is correct, Arctic Gas, we submit, failed to grapple with the evidence and failed the Inquiry by saying that the evidence was clear beyond argument.

In this same area, the Arctic

Gas argument proposes the theory that when jobs are

available, transfer payments go down. Their own witness,

Dr. Hobart, refuted that in Volume 113 of the transcript

at page 17234, in discussing his Coppermine study and

the Gulf employment program. He admitted that the

program was accompanied by an almost three-fold increase

in transfer payments, which could only be explained in

his words,

"By problems in the area which had snowballed or which had built up, which they had to respond to in terms of increasing welfare payments".

Now, Arctic Gas failed to deal



with this important discrepancy. Again, in the same area, he is speaking of the demeaning option of life on transfer payments. They did not mention the option referred to at Volume 198 of the transcript in your discussion with Mr. Gates at page 31320 and following, in which it was discussed the possibility of getting the same kind of support that this country gives to wheat farmers or fishermen or university students, to subsistent hunters and trappers and elevating thus these occupations in the public eye to acknowledgement of their value to the country.

Now, sir, it may be clever advocacy to select only those bits of evidence which support one's thesis, but it is, in my opinion, an abdication of the responsibility of the applicant to help develop a true picture of northern society, to be unwilling to face the contrary evidence or to bring it to light.

Sir, the second example involves the map which was produced and is on the wall. It is by Mr. Marshall in support of the cross-delta route.

Now, this map overlays the traplines and travel routes of the Dene of Inuvik and Aklavik and the traplines of the Inuvialuit of the same settlements. It is introduced to support the claim of Canadian Arctic Gas that the socio-economic effects of the cross-delta route are less severe than the circum-delta route.

The map does not include the traplines of the people of Tuktoyaktuk. We've placed that map on the wall for you. It's the one behind the



man with the camera. Now, these people also use the area of the cross-delta route. The COPE maps were produced in sufficient number that Canadian Arctic Gas had a copy of this series. Moreover, this series also includes a map which shows the areas where people hunt and fish. That's contained on the same map series.

Now, although that information was available, none of it appears on the Canadian Arctic Gas map; that is the one that they have produced. The Canadian Arctic Gas map overlays only as far west as the center of Shallow Bay and if you have a chance to go and look at that map, sir, you'll notice in the center of Shallow Bay the corner of the 1 and 250,000 series maps has marked on there.

It's doesn't go any further west than that, although that information was available.

But the COPE map series includes the Yukon coast and Canadian Arctic Gas representatives were in Aklavik, in Inuvik, in Tuktoyaktuk, where the people gave evidence of extensive land use in the area of the cross-delta route; verbal evidence and evidence that they supported with their use of this map series.

No mention of that was made in the Canadian Arctic Gas argument. Nothing appears on the map that they have produced. Now, had all that information been put together a true picture of the potential conflict between the cross-delta and traditional use might have been shown. As it is the Canadian Arctic Gas map may not show anything which



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contributes to the true picture of native society and land use and may be quite misleading.

Three, in referring to inmigration, Mr. Genest at page 31679 refers only to pipeline workers. He says at that page:

"It is unrealistic to expect that the addition of some white pipeline workers will bring about a change in population which would cause the community of Inuvik to have any concern".

He makes no mention of in-migration of people to serve the pipeline and communities despite the fact that Mr. Trusty, his own witness, acknowledges that there will be a significant influx and only debated the multiplier.

Perhaps Mr. Genest is unaware of that evidence. Mr. Commissioner, I suggest that you cannot discharge the onus described by Mr. Genest by avoiding the evidence. Canadian Arctic Gas cannot put itself forward as a responsible citizen interested in the solution to problems in an area it may be instrumental in changing if it shows itself unwilling or unable to deal totally with the evidence before you.

I don't suggest they have to agree with what we've produced, sir, but I submit that they must address it.

Now, turning just to another suggestion of Arctic Gas, and we'd like to have the opportunity to write to them and to you about certain of their recommendations that have been put forward that we may not agree with, and the reasons why, but



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Arctic Gas has suggested that there should be a single agency and we agree with that. We agree with them that it should have both the expertise and the talent to undertake the job of regulating the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline.

Now, they have suggested the
National Energy Board and we're concerned with that and
the reason we're concerned is that in some areas where
the National Energy Board has this jurisdiction, they
aren't as strong and tough about things as we'd like
them to be. Now, we've heard that in Manitoba in a
disagreement between the National Energy Board and
Manitoba Hydro that the National Energy Board directed
the Manitoba Hydro to change its route for a transmission
line that they were building.

Now, Manitoba Hydro refused and after allowing a period of time for the National Energy Board to change its mind, went ahead with its original plans. Now, we understand that the National Energy Board rather than enforcing its ruling did nothing, and we're concerned that this kind of action, if that is what we have to expect from them as a single agency in charge of policing the pipeline. If they can show they can do it better, we might consider it but those are the concerns we have.

Now, Mr. Commissioner, after all these perhaps angry sounding words, I'd like to be a little more agreeable and thank all counsel who have been involved in this Inquiry for being so generous and open in their discussions and disagreements and ability



to get on with one another. As I say, despite the criticisms I may have of the arguments and of the terms and conditions the people may have, I have the greatest respect and have been very pleased to be involved with all the lawyers that have been involved in this Inquiry.

I want to thank you, sir, on behalf of my client because in the words of Nellie Cournoyea:

"The Berger Inquiry, as we understand it, is of major importance to the Inuit of the western Arctic. It is supported by the native people and they have trust and faith in the process.

This Inquiry is considered unique in the history of government intervention in the North. It is supported for many reasons and some are difficult to express, for the first time this Inquiry sets out a legal forum to finally bring together the past and the present as it relates to the future survival of the Inuvialuit in the face of massive petroleum development.

We approve of this Inquiry's terms of reference
to hear evidence not only of the actual gas
pipeline proposals but also to listen to the
evidence as it relates to the location of gas
fields and on offshore drilling and the gas
processing plants. These broad terms of
reference seem, to native people, to be reasonable
since they will have to live with the end
product in its entirety and not just a pipeline".



1 And in thanking you, sir, I'd like to use the words of Mrs.Carmichael because 2 3 I think they're appropriate. She said: 4 "When you were in Aklavik..", 5 and you may recall this, 6 "... I want to thank you for coming and making 7 it available for everyone to speak. There are 8 so many different people here and everyone spoke 9 and we were glad and I want to thank you for 10 coming. I want to thank you and your staff 11 for coming before us. I know you are leaving 12 and I want to say good luck and God bless you 13 wherever you go in your work". 14 And thank you very much. 15 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you. 16 MR. SCOTT: Shall we adjourn 17 until after lunch, Mr. Commissioner. 18 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, until 19 when? Two? 20 MR. SCOTT: Two o'clock. 21 THE COMMISSIONER: All right, 22 we stand adjourned until two. 23 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED UNTIL 2:00 P.M.) 24 25 26 27 28 29



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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Are we

ready?

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Sigler, any time you're ready, please.

MR. SIGLER: To start with, that

I'd draw to your attention the Association has filed with the Commission a copy of its summary of recommendations containing some 87 specific recommendations relating to the areas of concern to the municipal level of government in the Northwest Territories.

I don't propose to go through each and every one of those recommendations here today. I do propose to take about a half-hour to an hour and highlight some of the main concerns of the Association in its involvement in this Inquiry.

In March of 1975 on the opening day of these formal hearings in Inuvik, I expressed to you the Association's basis of and concerns in participation at the Inquiry. Basically, sir, these were twofold:

(1) as a level of government, the Municipal Councils in certain impact communities in the Mackenzie Valley will have the direct responsibility and legal obligation of actually dealing with the social consequences of a pipeline decision. Their interest is not an academic one, it's a realistic one, as under the present scheme of things, a system of local government we have, these are the people and these are the bodies that will have to deal with local concerns in



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the larger communities of the region.

(2) As an elected level of government the Municipal Councils are speaking on behalf of a large constituency of public opinion within these communities, which constituency has urged their councils time and time again to make its feelings known to this Inquiry. In this regard we are admittedly representing a different and we suggest wider constituency than that of the native organizations or the Chambers of Commerce, as a northern based participant.

While we do not purport to speak for the special interest of the native people or for either for the native communities of the Northwest Territories, we would remind you once again that approximately 80% of the population of the valley does live in incorporated municipalities and have elected representatives who in turn have major input into our Association.

Our first broad area of concern is in the field of economic and political development for the valley.

Although our constituency is different than that of the organizations just mentioned, we do share with these other northern-based participants in these hearings concerns with the overriding issues of economic and political development in the Mackenzie Valley.

In reviewing the evidence that has been given not only at the fourth phase of the formal hearings here in Yellowknife, but also at the



community hearings, it becomes clear that all northern
based participants together with all northern peoples
have without exception expressed to you certain
common concerns that you can draw from the evidence.

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- 1. They as northerners want to become involved in the decisions that affect their communities and their region.
- 2. They are asking to gain acknowledgement as having a right to a degree of ownership and control in the resources of the region.
- 3. They seek a new political structure for the
  Northwest Territories, one in which control will shift
  from an appointed bureaucracy to the people themselves.

These are shared concerns,

I submit, of all the northern participants that have appeared before you, and most of the individual northerners, and we urge you, sir, to convey these concerns to the Federal Government in your report, and are confident that you perhaps better than anyone else can now appreciate these aspirations. However, sir, and with respect, we submit that under the Inquiry's terms of reference, the Commissioner's function is not to go beyond the mere conveying of these aspirations to government. That is we submit that you have not been asked to resolve these aspirations, or to suggest new institutions, or new models of government or what form such institutions should take, but simply to report to the Government of Canada what the feeling is amongst northerners in the face of these concerns. The next step, in our submission, the fact of resolving



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these concerns has not been delegated to this

Commission. This remains, after all is said and done, a pipeline Inquiry and not a Carrothers-style

Commission set up to resolve the great political issues facing the north.

Turning to the guestion of

development itself, this is, of course, an area where all northerners are not united. In both the community and formal hearings you have on many occasions heard from those who are opposed to development in their communities, and we realize that this has had great weight connected with the Inquiry. At the same time, though, and at this time we as a northern-based participant, wish to remind you of two or three matters: That in the evidence you have also heard a significant amount of northern opinion in favor of development. Much of this evidence was in fact led by the Association of Municipalities, and this evidence did include, sir, the sworn testimony of all the mayors of the larger impact communities, as well as the Territorial councillors representing these communities within the region. You have heard from Mayor Robertson, Mayor Stewart, in a written submission, or Mayor Stewart presently through Mr. Fogg in oral testimony as well as from Mayor Henne. You've heard from Territorial Councillors Butters, Nickerson, Lafferty, as well as from Territorial Councillor Searle in Yellowknife, and that there is a significant opinion in favor of the proposed development.

We suggest once again that



the function of this Commission is not to resolve no the question of development or development, because that's not within the terms of reference. But rather it has a duty in reporting to the Government of Canada as to the social consequences of a pipeline decision or an energy corridor to report the existence of both bodies of northern opinion, not only one or the other, and we are hopeful that in your approach you will convey both feelings of opinion to the Government of Canada and the different implications of the decision with respect to both bodies of opinion.

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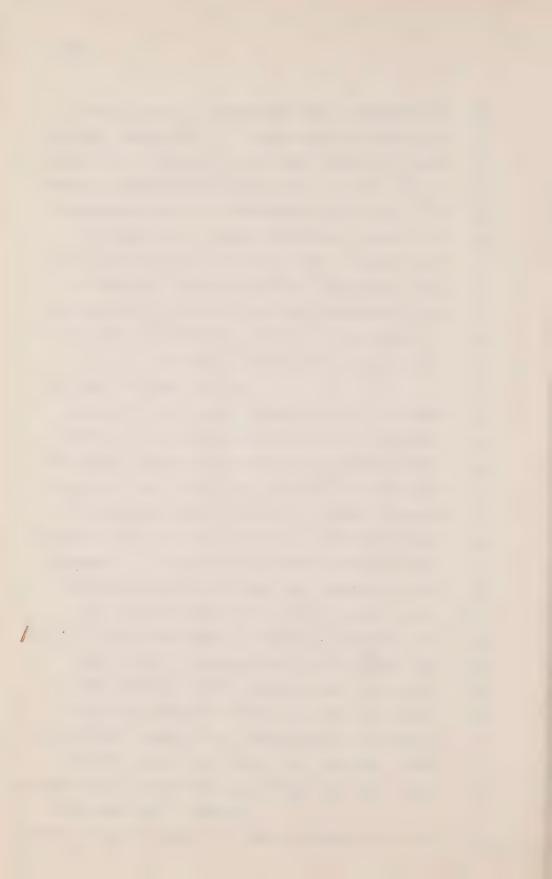
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The third matter of approach Which we'd like to suggest to you today is that in attempting to report on the specific socio-economic impacts projected, as well as the general concerns and aspirations of people in the valley, that you consider seriously making a community by community approach wherever possible. You will recall at your preliminary hearings before these formal hearings or community hearings started, the Association of Municipalities amongst other northern groups urged that you, sir, have hearings in different communities throughout the north This was one of the first arguments that was held before you, where hearings would in fact be held. It was urged that you conduct hearings not only in Yellowknife or Whitehorse, but throughout the Mackenzie Valley, and you, sir, in your preliminary rulings agreed with that approach to the conduct of this hearing. I suggest to you today that

it would be almost as much of a mistake to make uniform



conditions applicable to all communities in this region, as it would to hold all formal hearings in Yellowknife and not get out to the communities. So you can appreciate now that the communities such as Yellowknife, Hay River, or Inuvik, what conditions are appropriate for them may be entirely inappropriate to other communities such as Fort Good Hope or Old Crow. and we'd ask you to bear this principle in mind when considering any sweeping recommendations as to condi-We would also suggest that from the evidence that the conditions that you arrive at on the community basis should bear in mind that a pipeline may be constructed in such a way as to avoid communities that do not want or cannot cope with development, but at the same time serve the interests of the larger municipalities that both want development and feel that they can cope with it.

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That's what I wish to say
with regard to approach, which we urge you to follow,
sir. Some of the specific questions of concern
to the Association and to the Municipal Councils, firstly
the subject of resource royalties and taxation.

Having -- bearing in mind what I have just said regarding the role of this Commission on the issue of development, we have attempted in our summary of recommendations to present to you a case for sensible controlled development as being the only type of development that's in the interests of the people here. Inthat regard, first of all while we adopt the submissions that you have heard



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this week from Canadian Arctic Gas as to the potential benefits which can accrue with a pipeline, we do want controls on development still, and the main area of control which we have suggested is that of royalties accruing to the Territorial Government and thus through to the people of the north.

As you have heard in evidence from Mr. Dalby, Mr. Nickerson, Territorial Councillor from Yellowknife, Mayor Henne, Mayor Robertson, Mayor Stewart, and Territorial Councillor Butters, and many others, we feel that resource development can provide the means of achieving economic self-sufficiency for the people of the Northwest Territories (as it has to some extent for the people of Alaska). However, to accomplish this we submit that a portion of royalties from the resources must accrue directly and unconditionally to the Territorial Government's general reven ue fund. This in turn would enable the funding of Territorial and municipal services to all the communities in the north.

To be more specific, we are now suggesting to you that an equivalent of Alberta's and also Alaska's, after the elections recently, a Heritage Fund be established as suggested in the Stanley Report that has been tendered as an exhibit before you at page 106, titled:

"The Quality of Life Improvement Fund."

In that report at that page -- and I quote:

"It calls for revenues from a 3% royalty on

all non-renewable northern resources being

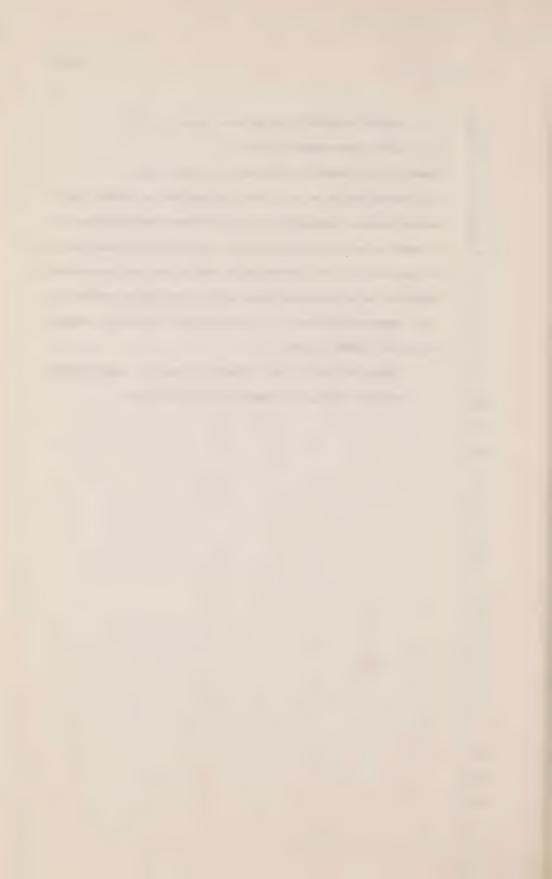


placed annually into this quality of life improvement fund."

These funds would be utilized in two ways:

(1) Funds would be utilized to achieve a reduction in energy costs throughout the Northwest Territories to a level equal to the average energy cost reduction which is experienced by communities which can be economically supplied with natural gas, and as to those communities I'll comment further in a moment as to the gas supply to local communities.

(SUBMISSION BY MR. SIGLER FOR N.W.T. ASSOCIATION OF MUNICIPALITIES MARKED EXHIBIT 897)



The second purpose of such a fund would be to distribute through local governments wherever possible and on a per capita basis, we suggest, funds for the financing of projects or programs intended to improve the quality of life in the North in accordance with local perceptions of needs and priorities. Once again, a community by a community involvement and a community by community decision making power in administrating these funds, and that these funds would not, in any way, be used to offset any of the existing programs, but would provide an additional resource of funds to the communities of the Mackenzie Valley and generally throughout the Northwest Territories as a direct benefit of resource development.

In addition, in the area of raising of revenues from the resource that's proposed to be exported from the North, we suggest that the evidence supports that the present municipal taxing powers be retained with regards to any pipeline facilities that are located within municipalities. It's reassuring to hear from both applicants' submissions that they acknowledged that they should have to pay municipal taxes on their pipeline facilities.

We call, sir, for assessment rates, however, to be--the assessment rate on pipeline facilities to be increased and this was a suggestion made in the evidence of Mr. Nickerson at these formal hearings in Yellowknife. We also from Mr. Nickerson's evidence are calling for a throughput tax that would



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be collected and paid to the Territorial Government.

So the first direct benefit that should accrue to the people of the North is a share in the royalties as well as funds from taxation on the facilities. The other manner in which we advocate that northerners share and benefit from the resources is the way, of course, of supplying gas to the communities. In that regard, we just reiterate our call that as a condition to building many northern pipeline, that there be a requirement of supplying gas to communities that can be economically serviced and which also are requesting such a service.

evidence you in this regard to the

approach that is required at this time to follow through and will be necessary to in fact implement such a condition. We remind you that Mr. Dalby's evidence was unchallenged by Arctic Gas and Foothills, in fact, proposed servicing the same eleven communities that the Association's witness, Mr. Dalby, concluded would be economically serviced.

We refer of Mr. Dalby as to the

We also adopt, sir, in regard to the question of local gas supply what Commission counsel has submitted to you on this subject which is found on page 7 of the section dealing with action communities, with the one exception that we do not urge that N. C. P. C. be named as the distributor for natural gas. To the contrary, the only evidence you have with regard to Northern Canada Power Commission has been from northerners and it has been opposed to their operations. In evidence of that, of course, we did file



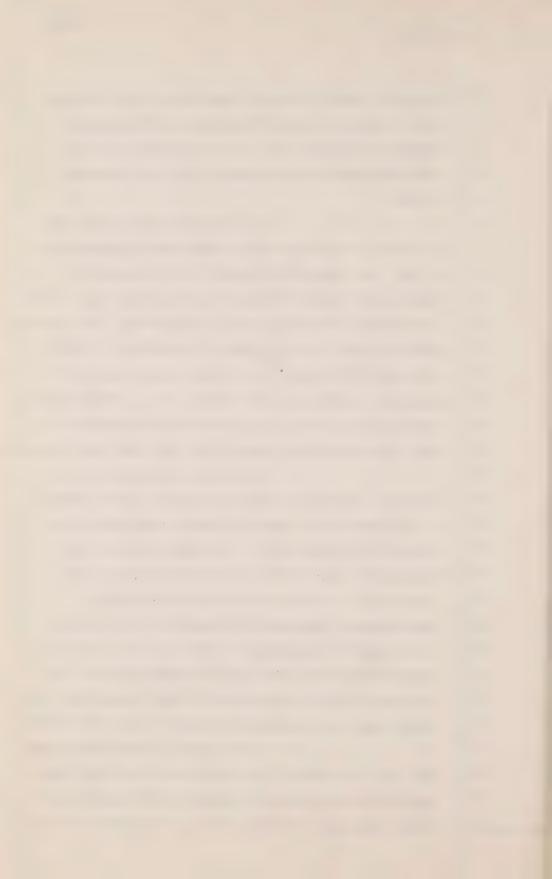
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with you a copy of several submissions that have been made to various levels of government and regulatory agencies regarding N. C. P. C.'s operations of the power distribution of wholesale supply in the North to date.

So, we do not see any basis for Mr. Scott or his staff having made that recommendation to you. We, therefore, urge you sir to adopt the resource and royalty sharing objectives into your report as conditions attaching to any right-of-way. We reiterate once again that as northerners, the municipal councils speak and people for whom they do not want development for development sake alone, but rather see these pipeline proposals as the means for northerners for perhaps the first time sharing and benefiting from their own resources.

With these conditions in mind, we cannot, therefore, adopt the suggestion of Mr. Scott's or the staff of Mr. Scott calling for the moratorium for ten to fifteen years. Our position is that the moratorium first of all has in fact—that in fact there's been a de facto moratorium on resource development or pipeline development in the Northwest Territories for approximately some six years now since petroleum resources were first discovered around 1970 and certainly during the two and a half years since this Inquiry was first established, there's been a moratorium.

In any event, we feel development will have the benefits that we have set out with these conditions of northerners sharing in the resource, and in the royalties. Further, just on that point, just to



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remind you once again that on the whole question of
moratorium, it's bordering dangerously close, we submit, to the
question of development or no development and I
reiterate we don't feel that this Inquiry has been
set up as the forum to decide that basic issue.

So, that we would urge you that in that sense any recommendations of ten to fifteen year moratoriums are in fact saying no development and in fact, are not within the terms of reference of this Inquiry. While the Association favors development, we would mention, and no moratorium, sir, we should mention that from the evidence it is clear that the municipalities will require some further lead time in order to implement fully their planning policy and to obtain the required impact funding.

In this regard, we would ask as a condition there be a required lead time of at least one year from the time the approval is given until any construction would start in the North. We feel that during that one year, the municipalities would have the opportunity and the capacity to implement their plans that have been made and copies of all these plans have, of course, been filed with you as exhibits, so that you yourself can examine the state of planning that exists in each of the municipalities that will be affected.

Also, sir, during that one year period, we're hopeful that there'll be an equitable settlement of native claims as we agree that such a settlement would be desirable prior to construction.



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We do not, however, agree to such a settlement being a precondition to development, as unfortunately development may pass us by if the decision is not made within a fixed time period. Further, and to perhaps use Mr. Gibbs' words to be realistic, only with the promise of development have the native land claims become a reality, or closer to becoming a reality in the North.

I would also point out and adopt that this would not be the first development proposed for the North, that development for the North was first proposed in a large scale by as early as 1956 by Prime Minister Diefenbaker in his roads to resources policy that the native peoples have proven to be flexible and adaptable as development has encroached and that we are confident that development can proceed if it's absolutely necessary and that the native people, through their organization, through their spokesmen will be able to protect their interests. They have certainly proven that to be more--proven that to be the case with increasing effectiveness in recent years and once again to be realistic that it's only been with the promise of development that the true effectiveness has been there. That's all I propose to say, sir, with regard to the native land claims.

Fourthly, on the question of impact funding to municipalities, this has been one of the central themes of our evidence and I don't propose to take you through our recommendations item by item or community by community to show what impact funding is necessary for which community. You have heard



the evidence that was given not only by members of the municipal councils but also by Mr. Dusel in regards to his Mackenzie Valley impact study that was done by the Association of Municipalities indicating the total impact cost that will accrue to the municipalities with any development.

We submit that in our evidence we have solidly established the need for extraofdinary funding on an unconditional basis to the municipalities. For example to cite but one in the Town of Inuvik we've shown that during the period of seven years some \$33,000,000.00 would be required for impact funds alone, and that similar figures exist for the other high impact communities of the valley.

our evidence once again and to pages 6 to 9 of our where summary of recommendations we have set out the main areas of recommendations in the line of impact funding. In that regard, as to the question of provision of municipal services, you will have appreciated by now that the municipalities in the Mackenzie Valley have consciously made a decision to plan for development and to provide additional municipal services, which is a fundamentally different approach than has been taken by some of the communities in Alaska, such as Fairbanks which made a conscious decision as you've heard in evidence, to the other extreme of not expanding the services.

We suggest that many of the negative impacts of the development in Alaska, at least



in the Fairbanks area, to which you've heard about several times in evidence, where the direct result of that decision taken by the municipality, and that to avoid a similar negative impact within the Mackenzie Valley, these impact funds must be made available unconditionally and I refersyou to the evidence of people from Fairbanks' to the reasons for unconditional; unconditionally to our municipalities so they can put in place the infrastructure and the municipal services that will be required and thus, will help avoid some of the adverse human impact to the people that live in those communities.



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We are pleased to see that

Commission counsel in its submission adopted the

need for impact funding and called for the creation

of a special impact fund. However, in contrast to

Commission counsel, we do not see the applican t or

the pipeline company as being the source of the funding

for m unicipal purposes. To the contrary, and alluding

back to one of my earlier general statements, we see

resource royalties accruing to the Territorial Govern
ment and thus to the municipalities being the source

of provision of additional impact funds.

We see then the resources as the key, and not the company. We do not ask to be tied to grants from the pipeline companies as being the source for municipal funding. Also, with respect to Commission counsel's suggested figure of \$20 million, we do not see where this figure was obtained from . As I stated, for Inuvik alone you've heard evidence, undisputed, as a need for some \$32 million. Why \$20 million, we don't know. We suggest that it's not in evidence, at least not in evidence that was led by the Municipal Association.

other areas in which we have made recommendations, sir, and which are summarized in the exhibit that has been filed with you, are in the areas of planning, transients, transportation, housing, recreation, and protection services. Once again, we submit that our evidence in these areas was both clear and unquestioned as being -- as those recommendations being needed for the very survival, in many



cases, of the communities, especially with areas of planning and certainly at least dealing with the quality of life when we come to areas such as recreation and protection services.

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I wish now to comment briefly by way of response to some of the submissions that have been made by other participants. Firstly, further with Commission counsel's submissions, under the section, "Native land claims" on pages 9, 10 and 11, it would appear that in talking about institutions of local government, it would appear that a great deal of weight has been placed on the evidence that was given by Chief Cheezie and Mr. George Kurszewski with regard to last year's municipal elections in Fort Smith. We would remind you, sir, in considering this evidence and also that there has been evidence to the contrary that has been led by the Association, particularly the evidence given by Richard -- by Dick Hill from Inuvik, where in an appendix he in fact pointed out that almost all councillors now serving on Municipal Councils in the Northwest Territories had a long-term residence in the north, and a very large majority had resided in the north for over ten years, which was one criticism that was aimed at the election process in Fort Smith.

As well, sir, in the evidence of Mr. McDiarmid that was called at the fourth phase formal hearings by -- on behalf of COPE it was stressed by Mr. McDiarmid that the municipal form of local government would never be forced on any community against its will.



We would also remind the Commission that the same basic voting procedure that is used in municipal elections is also used in federal and territorial elections in which native candidates have had great success in recent years. Therefore I suggest that in fairness it cannot be concluded from the evidence given by Mr. Kurszewski and Chief Cheezie that the municipal system as a whole is not working simply because Mr. Kurszewski failed in his efforts to elect his particular slate of councillors.

We submit that it is at least as fair to conclude that these efforts themselves, the ones by Mr. Kurszewski, were at fault rather than the entire system; that there is other evidence that the system is working.

We do, however, agree that the municipal form of local government should be upgraded and strengthened with greater involvement from native members of communities being encouraged.

Further, the municipal model should not be forced on communities not wanting to adopt the same.

One of the most serious concerns we have with the submissions made by Mr.

Scott's staff arises from his part dealing with action communities once again at page 16 of that part, where in recommending a committee to be established,

Mr. Scott goes on to say that:

"As an interim measure, the Minister not allow the implementation of any major decision



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taken by any local government unless he is certain that there has been adequate input by native residents of that particular community."

This seems to be recommending to you to adopt, sir, as a condition that no major decision be allowed to be taken by any local government but rather any such decisions would be forwarded onto the Minister in Ottawa, who would have to O.K., make all the local decisions.

Firstly, we suggest that there's no basis in the evidence for such a sweeping recommendation. To the contrary, I submit that all the evidence you've heard from northerners has called for greater political self-determination, not less.

So for Mr. Scott's staff to suggest eliminating basically the form of local government and delegating this power to the Minister is the contrary to all'submissions that you've heard, both from the communities themselves and in these formal hearings from the participants.

Secondly, as I mentioned at the outset of my submissions, we take the positionthat the determination of what institutions are to be established and by what means are not the proper subject matter of this Inquiry. Once again we suggest the role of this Inquiry is to pass onto the Federal Government its appreciation of the aspirations of northerners, but we would suggest that it would be inappropriate for you to go as far as Mr. Scott urges,



and suggest this specific .means of meeting those concerns.

Finally on this point I want to reiterate another principle of approach I mentioned earlier, and that is the community by community approach being required. Also Mr. Scott did not even attempt to define what a "major decision" would be, and we therefore have great trouble in interpreting his intentions.

THE COMMISSIONER: You would put that in category 1, would you? Sloppy thinking?

MR. SIGLER: I think I might put it in all categories, sir. It seems to fit them all.

Another suggestion that came from Commission counsel to you, and also from COPE has been a suggestion that there be a change from the tax base or assessment base as a criterion for local government to some other basis for local government institutions evolving. On that, sir, we agree that there is a need for change but I submit the first change can occur only if there is an alternative source of municipal revenues i.e. resource revenue once again. It all goes back to getting funds to the people of the Territories from their own resources who might therefore with resource revenue be able to dictate our own basis for political evolution.

As stated by Mr. Dick Hill once again in evidence responding to Mr. Scott's cross-examination on this very point in Yellowknife,

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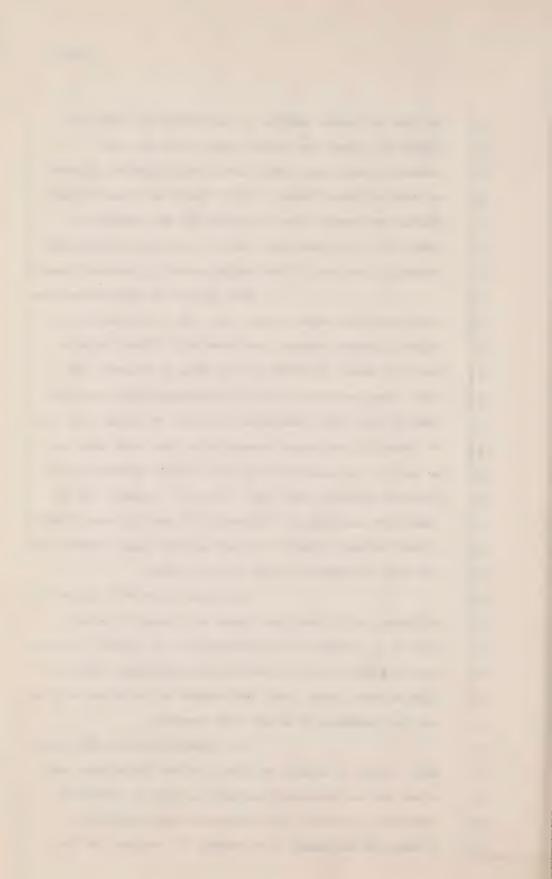
as long as senior levels of government and thus the people of Canada as a whole are paying for our community services, these levels will wish to dictate or control these funds. Until there is unconditional sharing by communities in resources and royalties, there is little realistic hope of obtaining meaningful community control of the decision-making process itself.

With regard to the submissions

that have been made to you, sir, as to monitoring of impact, impact centres, we agree with there being a need for same. We would, as was done by counsel for COPE, take exception to the recommendations that have come to you from Commission counsel. WE would urge that at least in the larger communities that such centres be run by the municipality, who should receive extraordinary funding for them. This, of course, is the case that was done in Fairbanks. It was the municipality of the borough itself that set up the impact centre and was able to monitor it on a local basis.

Also, sir, from Mim Dixon's evidence it's clear that there is a need for some kind of a regional co-ordination of the impact centres, and this should not be done by the municipalities but through some other body. We suggest an existing body and not the creation of a new one, however.

On a submission that has been made to you on behalf of COPE, and we anticipate that other native organizations will be urging you to do likewise, to adopt -- to recommend the adoption of a ten-year residency requirement for voting for the



purposes of elections, as a means of minimizing social disruption during a development stage. IN response, we submit once again that such matters are beyond the scope of this Inquiry, that once again this is not the Carrothers Commission, this is the Pipeline Commission.

If you disagree, however, sir, and are considering adopting that as a recommendation, we submit to you that the suggestion of long-term residency for voting is not as benign a suggestion as its proponents might argue. That is that all residents with ten years will be teated equally regardless of ethnic origin, so it's not going to hurt anyone.



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 That may be so but that all people with ten year residence will be treated equally. We submit that the real inherent question when it comes to these types of recommendations is whether or not any or all southern Canadians will be encouraged to come to the Northwest Territories and make this part of Canada their home, as part of Canada.

We suggest that no Canadian who chooses to do so to come here should have to face becoming a second-class citizen as far as--becoming disenfranchised for certain purposes or all purposes or any purposes as a consequence of his decision to move to another part of Canada. We suggest that's the basic question that this type of recommendation should be regarded with and it's not as simple as it has been suggested to you. It has serious implications for the future of the North.

Perhaps it's the same type of issue that's going through Quebec right now as to the rights of people who come to this part of Canada with the different ethnic origin than a significant portion of them who have a special interest that must be preserved. The question is, how do you balance the rights of all the people here? We repeat though that this question in any event we don't feel is within the terms of reference of this Inquiry.

On the submissions that have been made regarding the creation of the authority or other regulating bodies, we do support the creation of a single regulating authority provided it's of limited



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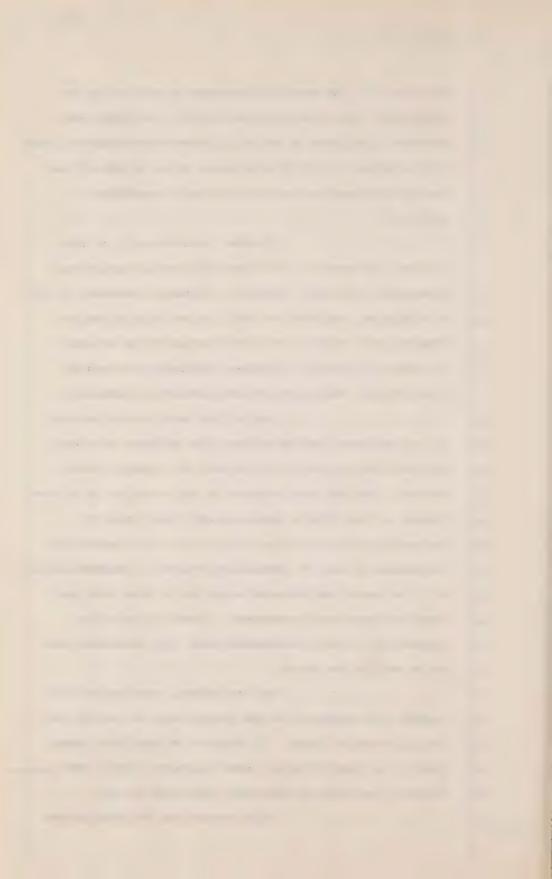
duration for the specific purposes of monitoring and regulating the pipeline construction. We would ask, however, that such an authority have representation from the municipal level of government which is one of the levels that now has some of the decision-making authority.

Further, not directly on that subject but general criticism which we'll aim at the Commission counsel's report or a general comment, if not a criticism, you mention that the municipalities are opposed very strongly to the creation of an entirely new level or levels of bureaucracy being created in this region, where they're not absolutely required.

One of the main things inherent in our evidence and we believe the evidence of other northern participants is the need for greater local control. We are thus opposed to the creation of a great number of new federal agencies and a new wave of bureaucracy flooding the North, and if not careful in implementing many of Commission counsel's recommendations, all that would be achieved would be to have this new level of appointed government. That's what we're suggesting in your recommendations you recommend come to an end in the North.

We, therefore, urge you to disregard that approach to the people here of having that
decision-making power. If they're to have that power,
give it to them directly, don't appoint a whole new plethora
of civil servants to make our decisions for us.

With regards to the submissions



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that have been made by COPE and the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada briefly we should go on to mention that we share COPE's basic philosophy of local communities playing a larger role in the decision-making process in such areas as planning, law enforcement and the use of gravel pits.

One area we do take exception to as a specific area is their suggestion that native organizations or hunters and trappers associations be given the final decision-making power on land use permits. As a matter of principle, we feel that the elected community councils should, if anybody locally will be given the final power, it should be the elected local council, and that these other bodies should have input but as a consultative one only.

Hopefully that in the communities where they represent a majority of the people, they will have the majority interest on that council. We agree on the approach becoming a local one, the final issuance becoming a local matter, as we feel that it's definitely an area of community influence even though the land may be located outside of the community but the issuing of a land use permit certainly affects the community and all the people of the adjoining communities, and that the communities should have—should be given that decision—making power.

Turning to the submissions of Canadian Arctic Gas, not really to the submissions in this case but to the application, I just wish to remind you of our opposition to the building of facilities



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at Axe Point and refer you once again to the paper that was presented, prepared by the Town of Hay River and their consultants and presented by the association in evidence as an exhibit.

We also would remind you in considering that question at Axe Point of the 1972 pipeline guidelines and their wording, guideline number 7, and I'll quote that:

"In order to ensure that the social and economic benefits outweigh the costs the applicant shall make a conscious effort to contribute to the social and economic development of the Territories. This objective shall have particular relevance regarding...",

and the first one listed is,

"...locating permanent infrastructure and maintenance facilities so that their presence will be to the benefit of communities".

You have heard from the communities of Fort Simpson and Hay River regarding your feeling towards Axe Point. They do not feel it would be of benefit to them and we suggest that the guidelines themselves were drawn in this way to prevent such facilities being built if there's any likelihood of there having a permanent presence after the construction period.

With response to Mr. Gibbs' submissions on behalf of Foothills, we feel we should address his comments yesterday in view of our position coming out in favor of development being a northern group.



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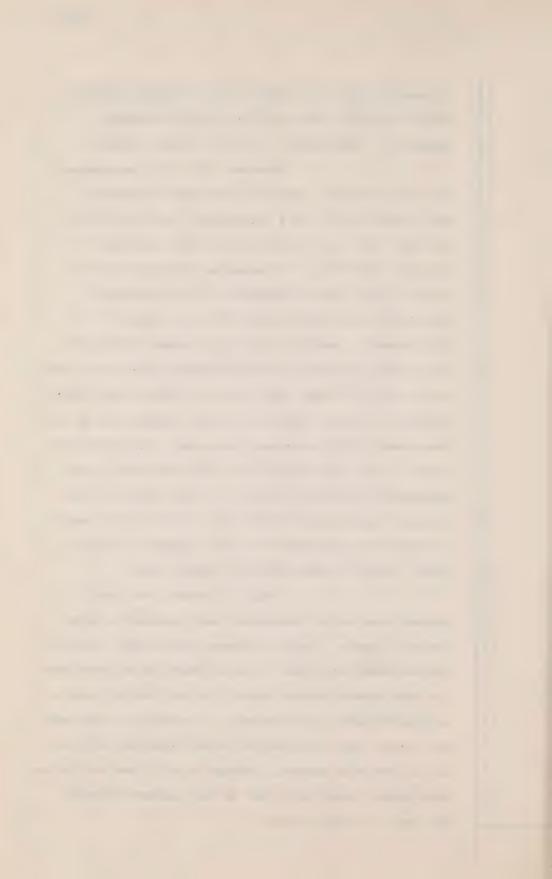
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In response, we just wish to state that we recognize that "a pipeline itself will not be the economic panacea for the North", to use Mr. Gibbs' words.

However, for those northerners

for whom we speak, resource development generally and incentives for this development are felt to be the key, not only to political growth, but also to economic stability. The examples perhaps that are given by the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and Metis Association of economic developments leading to political power locally at other areas of Canada perhaps emphasize the point that we're trying to make that political powers were given locally to various regions of this country only as the resources of this area were developed. The difference today is that we wish policies and conditions to be adopted but also to be mindful of the rights of the original inhabitants of the area, of the native people so they'll be protected and what happened to them in other areas of Canada does not happen here.

This, of course, was not a concern when major development was proposed in other areas of Canada. But with these protections, we still require some decisions for development or an atmosphere for development before there'll be any further growth in the Northwest Territories. So, while Mr. Gibbs may be correct that his pipeline or any pipeline will not be our economic panacea, perhaps it will lead to further development which we do see as our ultimate solution and key for future growth.



One other general comment I'd like to make sir is that the Association was disappointed in Commission counsel's submissions being made available first in Ottawa and not in Yellowknife and gaining our first impressions of these submissions from the media.

We hope that the Commission's report itself will be made public and available in the Northwest Territories at the same time as it is released in the south.

MR. SCOTT: There weren't enough shoelaces in Yellowknife, Mr. Sigler.

MR. SIGLER: That, sir, basically completes what I wish to submit to you today on behalf of the Association. Once again, we thank you for providing the Association with the opportunity to participate in this Inquiry during the fourth phase.

We see your role as being able to provide the Government of Canada with the means of allowing pipeling development to proceed for the benefit of all northerners.

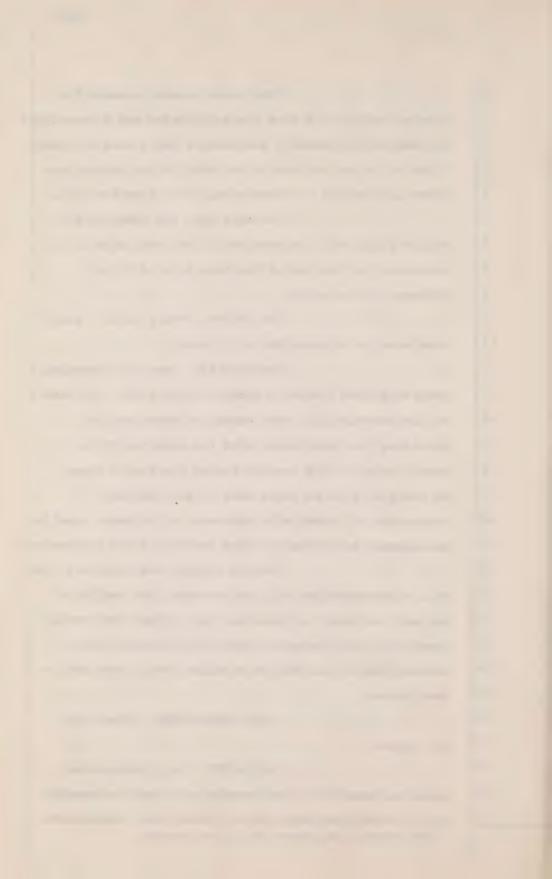
We are hopeful and confident that your recommendations will be practical and realistic and will be aimed at improving the economic and social conditions for the people who live and work in the communities of the Mackenzie Valley, both today and in the future.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,

Mr. Sigler.

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner, could we break for a few moments and then the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee will make their submissions.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)



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## (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. ANTHONY: Mr. Commissioner,

I have the pleasure of presenting the submissions and the recommendations of the Canadian Arctic Resources

Committee. With me also is Dr. Thompson, the chairman of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee. Dr. Thompson has been involved at various stages and in various phases of this Inquiry, as an advisor, as a witness, and it is probably fitting that in closing he also is here as counsel — as my junior, of course.

Before proceeding, I would

like to file as an exhibit two matters. First of all through funding available from this Inquiry to assist CARC and the native organizations and maintain contact and communication with other organizations in the south, the Northern Assessment Group was created and as part of their assistance to the participants they have prepared two volumes which brought together transcript references on key environmental issues, and I would ask that that material from the Northern Assessment Group be filed with this Inquiry as an exhibit.

Also just as a matter of record, I have prepared a list indicating the members of the Northern Assessment Group and consultants who were retained by them, and the members of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee who have participated from time to time in the proceedings of this Inquiry, and I'd ask that that also be filed as a matter of record.



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I must start by making the same request of the other participants, in that we be permitted to file supplementary detailed comments on the recommendations of Commission counsel and of other participants, and we would request permission to do that and I anticipate being in a position to file some detailed comments in the near future.

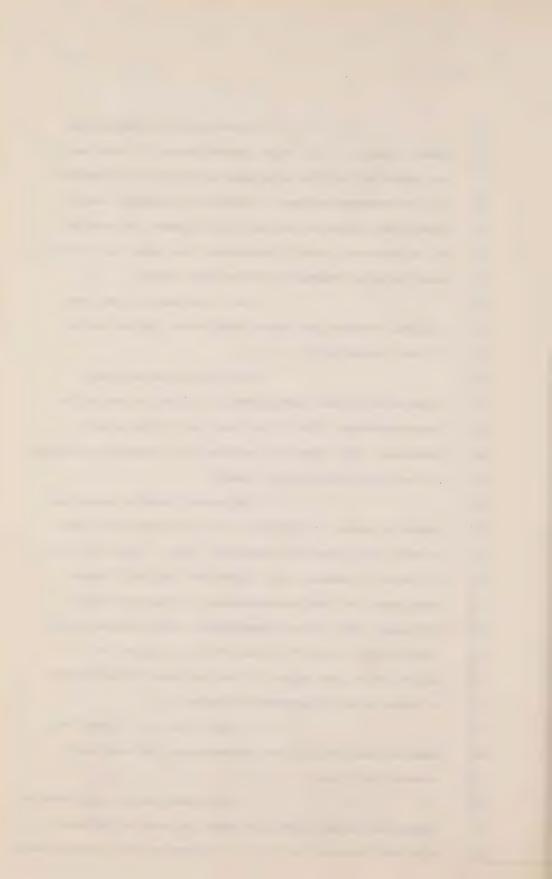
I will be making some more general comments on these submissions in the course of our presentation.

Our submission has been circulated to the participants, and is in basically three sections. The first section is the general submission and comments, and that will form the substance of our oral presentation today.

The second section contains specific terms, conditions and recommendations that we will urge upon this Inquiry. I may highlight a few of these in passing, but those are basically being submitted for your consideration. There are some 125 pages, and the recommendations are recorded under "Particular Species" to assist this Inquiry in appreciating the impact of a wide range of activities on particular environmental issues.

I will start, if I may, Mr. Commissioner, with a few comments on the onus and standard of proof.

It is submitted by the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee that the onus of proving that the proposal to build a Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline



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can be successfully carried out within acceptable impacts rests throughout on the proponents of the scheme. The applicants must accept the responsibility to demonstrate to this Inquiry, to the agencies of government, and to the Canadian people that they can construct the pipeline in a manner and within the time frame they propose, and that they understand and can control the environmental and socio-economic impacts within acceptable limits. This obligation is c learly suggested in the Government of Canada 1972 Pipeline Guidelines. If the applicants cannot do this, they must not be permitted to proceed.

I will pause here, if I may, to cite one example of what I am attempting to demonstrate here, Mr. Commissioner, because I think this issue was passed over too lightly by Arctic Gas in their submission to you, because I'm talking here not only of the obligations of the guidelines, or obligations to adduce evidence, but I'm also submitting that Arctic Gas must demonstrate to this Inquiry that the environmental consequences of their actions are known, or at least the range of their consequences are known, and that they are acceptable.

I would draw an example which
I think will illustrate my concern and my suggestion
that they have not satisfied this onus. I will just
quote two short passages from the Arctic Gas submission
dealing with the question of whales in the Mackenzie
Delta, as a specific example. I refer to page E-47 of
the Arctic Gas submission where they state:



"It is suspected that calving may occur in Shallow Bay, although no positive evidence exists. The areas of concentration of the whales is generally north of the pipeline crossing, although they have on occasion extended south of the crossing."

Dealing with the same issue
on page F-20 they state at the bottom there:

"There is no clear evidence that calving
takes place in Shallow Bay, but rather it
is an inference."

And they refer to Dr. Sergeant, who I suggest is a fairly good source for an inference with respect to whales, and indescribing some of the disturbance studies carried on by the Slaney group, they say on page F-21:

"Consequently there is no evidence that similar activities associated with the pipeline crossing of Shallow Bay would cause a detrimental impact to the whales."

And then they present the conclusion, that therefore there is no significant impact and they can proceed with the crossing.

Now my submission to you,
Mr. Commissioner, is that they have it all wrong.

It is Arctic Gas that must determine where the calving ground is, and it is up to Arctic Gas to do the disturbance studies before it concludes that the activities will not have a detrimental impact. If they have not done this, if they cannot do that, then they



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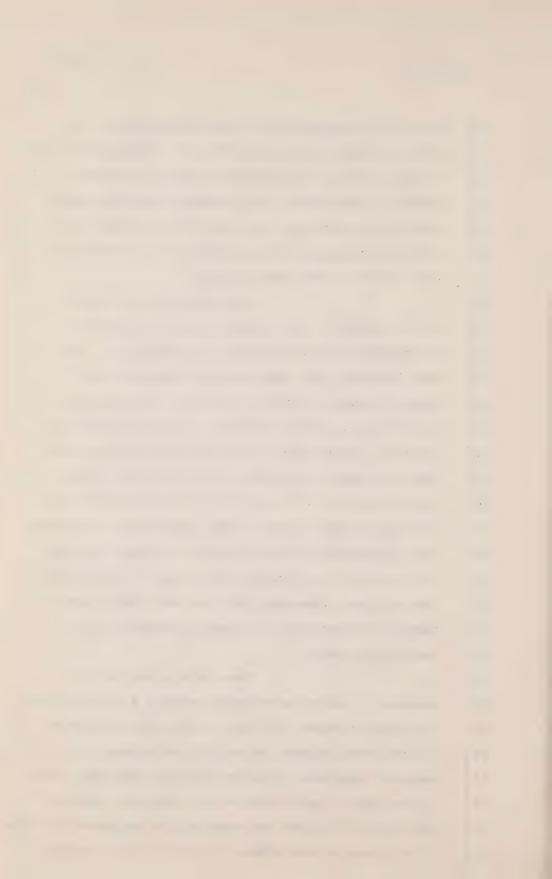
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should not be permitted to cross Shallow Bay. It will not surprise you, therefore, Mr. Commissioner, that in the section in our submission dealing with the impact on the whales in the Mackenzie Delta we state that the onus has not been satisfied by Arctic Gas and that they should not be permitted to proceed with their plans to cross Shallow Bay.

Nor should the standard of proof required by this Inquiry merely be a balance of convenience or even a balance of probability. In many instances, the applicants are dealing with crucial issues, in effect, issues of life and death. The ability to safely construct a chilled buried gas pipeline, the survival of the Porcupine caribou herd, the environmental integrity of the Mackenzie Delta, and the welfare of the residents of the Canadian north are some of these issues. When considering the evidence being presented by the applicants and others on these vital issues, this Inquiry should apply a higher standard of proof. Demanding anything less could place in jeopardy the survival of integral elements of the Canadian heritage.

This Inquiry has had the occasion to listen to evidence covering a wide spectrum of probative value. You have heard evidence based on sophisticated studies, scientific conjecture, and personal experience. You have received hard data, both at the formal hearings and at the community hearings, and you have received the speculations and generalizations of both experts and laymen. It is for you to decide



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on the relative weight to be placed on the evidence you have heard. We would submit, however, that in many of the most important environmental issues before you there are no recognized experts. CARC would urge that this Inquiry in considering these issues pay particular attention to the evidence of the residents of the north, particularly the native people who have learned to understand and live with the environment. CARC has presented before this Inquiry a number of eminent and qualified scientists who have spoken of their studies and provided their recommendations. Many of the recommendations submitted by CARC are based on the evidence of these experts and of experts called by other participants. However, to understand the importance of the environment and of environment protection, we would ask that this Inquiry also consider and act upon the submissions and recommendations of those who, from personal experience, can teach us about this fragile land.

If the applicant is unable to satisfy the onus placed upon it, then this Inquiry should hold that the application is deficient. In some situations the deficiencies shall be of such great magnitude or cover such a wide range of issues that this Inquiry should hold that there is insufficient evidence to properly assess the impacts or make appropriate recommendations. In those cases the Inquiry should hold that the pipeline should be built, if at all, only upon completion of the appropriate further studies and a proper evaluation of those studies.



CARC has in many of its submissions provided a list of further studies and identified knowledge gaps that it will urge be examined, and in some cases be completed as a pre-condition to the applicant being granted approval to proceed with its pipeline application.

I would ask now, Mr.

Commissioner, if Dr. Thompson could continue the presentation of CARC to this Inquiry.

(SUBMISSION & RECOMMENDATIONS OF MR. ANTHONY FOR CARC EXHIBIT 898)

(NORTHERN ASSESSM ENT GROUP MATERIAL MARKED EXHIBIT 899)

(LIST OF PARTICIPANTS MARKED EXHIBIT 900)



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DR. THOMPSON:

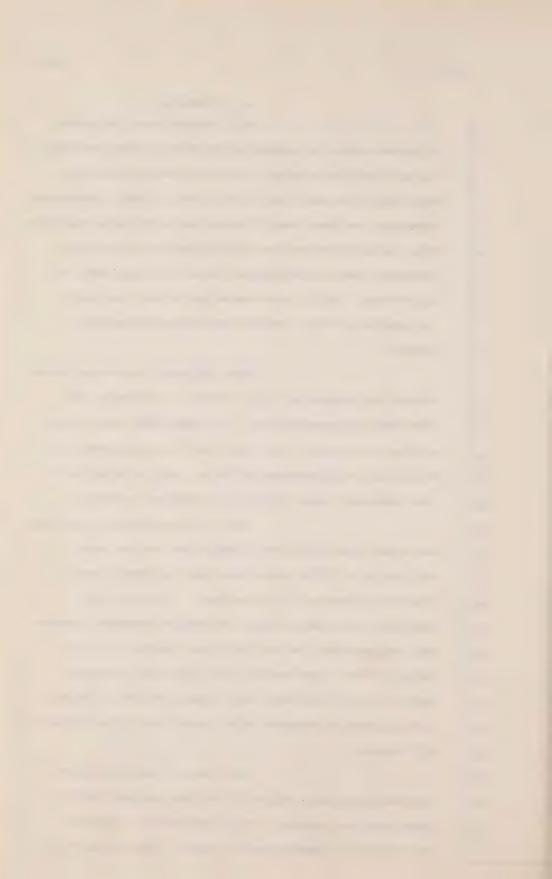
Mr. Commissioner, I'm going

to present what we called an overview of the Mackenzie
Valley Pipeline proposal. Since its establishment
more than five years ago, the Canadian Arctic Resources
Committee has been deeply concerned with these questions
about developing northern petroleum and natural gas
resources, and in particular about the pipeline, and
in 1974 we held a conference in Ottawa that asked
the question, "Gas from the Mackenzie Delta now or
later?"

Many informed Canadians spoke at that conference and they argued for delaying the pipeline, on grounds such as that frontier gas was not then a priority, and that the financial, economic, social and environmental effects, many of which were then unknown, would clearly be softened by delay.

Now in comparing this overview we reread that conference report and we see that in the spring of 1974 there were many unknown elements about the impacts of a pipeline. Despite the unanimity with which those conference speakers advocated postponement, we withheld our judgment to this Inquiry. The issue was far too important to decide before all of the facts were known, and we, I think, participated throughout this Inquiry with that suspension of judgment.

But now at the conclusion of the hearing when I think all of the parties in this room, and you yourself, Mr. Commissioner, must be at a point of summing up two years' experience. What



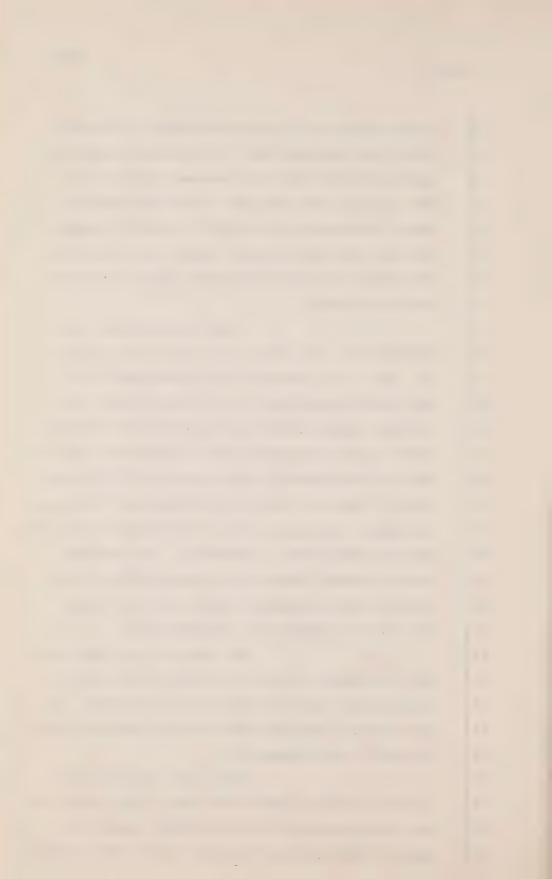
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we have to tell you is that we've made up our minds and we have concluded that the Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline is dead. It's dead because the project is not -- the gas, the delta gas is not now needed in Canada, because the project is too costly, because its social and environmental impacts are intolerable, and because there are alternatives which will better serve this nation.

I suppose I might add that particularly if the pipeline is conceived by Arctic Gas, and on its timetable, that we consider to be dead. We're not asking you, of course, to make such findings because we know that your terms of reference do not include recommending for or against the pipeline But the order-in-council does require you in your own words to report on the social, economic and environmental impacts and that task has to be regarded as one of assessing, avaluating tradeoffs. The important question becomes whether acknowledged adverse social, economic and environmental impacts are so serious as to call in question the project itself.

The conclusion you reach will very much depend on your evaluation of the need for the pipeline, subconsciously if not consciously. In our estimation the applicants have not shown the need, at least to our satisfaction.

We say that the gas is not needed in Southern Canada until late in the 1980s, and may not be needed well into the 1990s, because the expiry of the gas export contracts will enable Canadian



gas then being sold in United States markets to be diverted to Canadian markets at that time.

Alternatives are available to Canada to bridge any gap between the late 1980s should shortages develop and the 1990s when the export contracts terminate. An obvious one is for Canada to negotiate a phasing out of the export contracts so that some export gas can be diverted to Canadian markets before 1990, in exchange for extended deliveries to the United States beyond the expiry dates of the contract. This tapering off of the export deliveries could be designed to match increasing Canadian demand.

MR. GENEST: I hesitate to interrupt so distinguished a counsel and witness and authority as Dr. Thompson, but I have not addressed -- Arctic Gas has not addressed any remarks to you in this respect because that is an issue that is squarely before the National Energy Board. I don't know if Dr. Thompson intends to go on for some time in this direction, but it seems to me it would be of no help to you in your directions. I don't know if I should be compelled to try in our submissions in writing to you to meet that case or not. It seems to me not to advance the cause of this Commission in any respect.

I regret the interruption but I felt I should point it out.

Commissioner, as Dr. Thompson has transcribed it in his report or his overview which is before us as an exhibit; it's there and I take it Mr. Genest has

MR. SCOTT: I think, Mr.



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no objection to it being filed. It seems to me respectfully that the Inquiry has ruled on this matter when the evidence of Dr. Helliwell, which touches on the same issues, was presented, and tendered and objected to. That was ruled out by the Inquiry and it appears to me that Dr. Thompson is touching on some of the same issues.

But as the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee has been funded to deal with the environmental issues, I know that they are coming up very quickly. Perhaps we can just proceed to hear the views of CARC on those environmental issues.

DR. THOMPSON: Mr. Commissioner.

I can recall when this Inquiry commenced and Mr. Michael Goldie opening the Inquiry stressing the great need for this pipeline and I don't think that one would have to search too far through the pages of the record to find many instances where the applicants have made it clear that they regard this to be an urgently needed affair. I think that the final argument on behalf of Gas Arctic particularly, while it's not directly has addressing these matters, left no doubt that they're impressing on you this great need for urgency for this project.

Now, if --

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
Dr. Thompson. I propose to handle this in the usual
way. The matter is clearly one for the National
Energy Board to determine, and is not something upon
which the government has sought my opinion, nor indeed



is it one which I'm qualified to offer.

However, I read the newspapers in m y capacity as an ordinary citizen of Canada, and the kind of debate that you're engaging in now is one that has proceeded in the newspapers ever since I was appointed to head this Inquiry, and became an avid reader of the reports from the offices of Arctic Gas, Foothills, and those who oppose the view they take about the urgency of the pipeline.

So I propose, as a matter of courtesy, to allow you to continue, but I think you are swiftly coming to a consideration of environmental questions. You suggested that I would consider this in my subconscious. Well, I don't suppose any of us will ever know whether that is --

DR. THOMPSON: I'm just trying to impress your subconscious, sir. Thank you.

There are alternatives, and some of them involve switching to different energy sources. I think no one is arguing that Canada faces an energy shortage today, not an energy shortage — maybe an natural gas shortage but not an energy shortage. These alternatives, although costly, are not as costly as the Mackenzie Delta gas at the price that's spoken of today as \$3. an Mcf.

Two years ago Arctic Gas was predicting shortages as early as 1979. Recently they're acknowledging that shortages won't occur until 1981 or 1982. We believe that shortages won't appear until 1988 or 1989 because the trends which have caused



Arctic Gas to lengthen their forecast period of self-sufficiency are more deeply roted than they seem to appreciate. These are trends towards increased southern supplies and increased -- decreased Canadian demand brought about by higher field prices and higher market prices.

As Dr. Wood of the M.I.T. study team on energy reported to the Calgary conference on government involvement in the energy industry, just a few weeks ago, that their data shows considerable elasticity in supply and demand for oil and gas. He stated that in his opinion the United States national security concerns about energy independence would be alleviated simply by pricing oil and gas at world levels, and we've already seen deliverability enhanced in both British Columbia and Alberta gas fields, as a result of higher producer prices. We have the experience of growth rates in demand for natural gas in Canada of less than 1% for the past two years, owing in part at least to higher prices.

The other factors that enable us to predict that Canada will be able to meet its natural gas needs late into the 1980s are the success attendant on the Federal Government's conservation program and the failure of our economy to recover as rapidly as hoped.

In any event, the nature of a shortfall in natural gas deliveries should be appreciated. It's presented in the media that a shortfall would be a catastrophe which would overshadow



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gas shortage in the United States for the past three
years with some regions showing shortfalls as high
as 25%. Yet there is no evidence of any serious
discomfort or dislocation south of the border and
their economic performance has outstripped our own.

We're not advocating shortfalls.

all other calamities. IN fact, there's been a natural

but what we want to make plain is that in our view there's no catastrophe threatened in Southern Canada that can in any degree match the calamity that threatens native peoples in the north if the pipeline is proceeded with immediately.

Now, that sounds like a lot of rhetoric and will simply go out these air vents in this room, but when I talk about the calamity, I noticed just a recent issue of "Native Press", came out a week or two ago, and the heading is:

"Tuk Full of Booze."

Mr. Steen said,

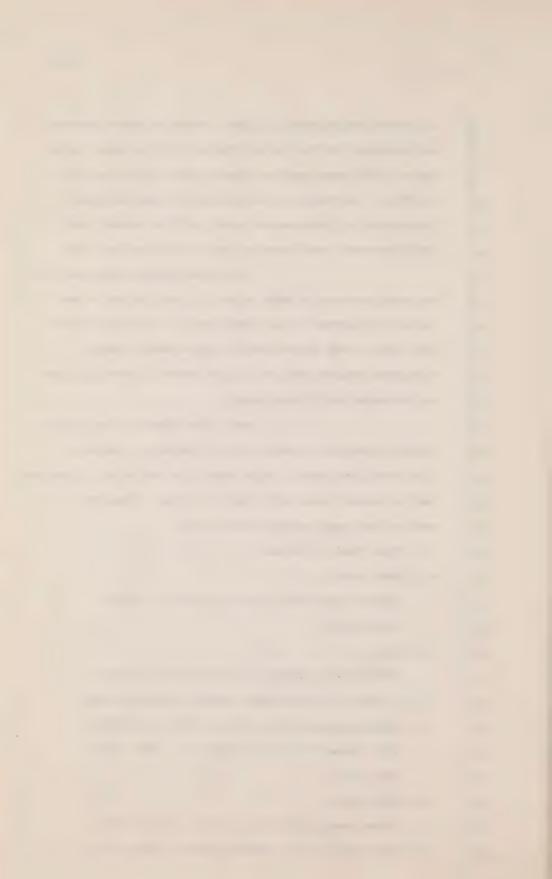
"There's so much alcohol in Tuk it makes him worry."

He said.

"75% of the people in Tuk work on Canmar's 6 ships. The problem, there's so much money floating around Tuk after work the people don't know what to do with it. When they get paid,"

Mr. Steen said,

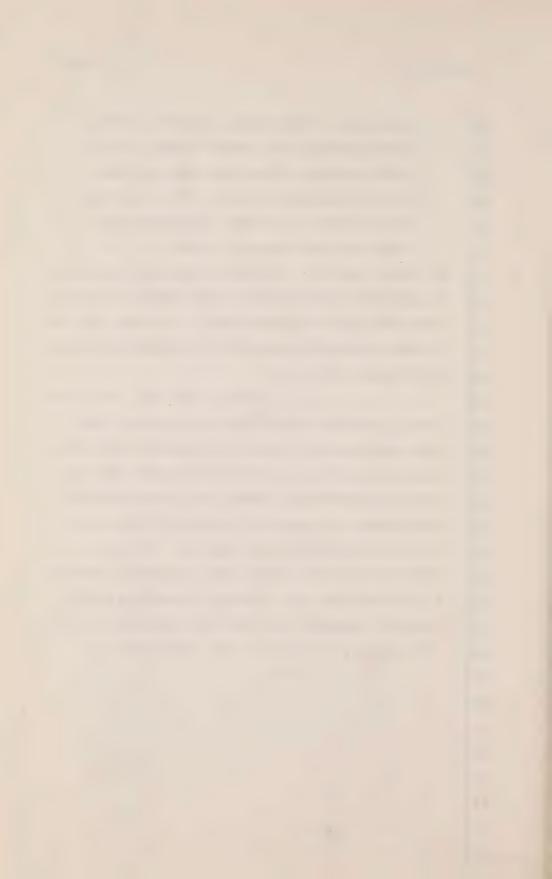
"some people charter a plane into Inuvik and buy 12 to 24 cases of beer, and up to



six cases of hard liquor. Then they return home and they invite their friends. It's a chain reaction. Pretty soon there are two, three, four more charters. There is no limit on the amount of alcohol a person can buy from the Liquor Store in Inuvik."

Mr. Steen said he's thinking of starting a plebiscite. He said that before people started working at Canmar, they didn't have very much money. The money that they do have, they said, was spent on supplies for hunting and fishing on the land.

When I read that, and I think and that we spent two years beyond that three or four more, talking about concerns in the north and learning how to deal with them, and I discover that what any sociology second year student could have predicted would happen is happening, I wonder just whether or not we are really learning anything. Certainly I think that it's not simply empty rhetoric or advocacy to say that there is a calamity threatening native people in the north and there is nothing in the nature of a calamity in the south that can measure it.



Later in our argument we will show you our environmental impacts justify delaying a Mackenzie Valley natural gas pipeline. You will hear from other intervenors the reasons why delay will serve the interests of a just settlement of native land claims and of preserving the life and cultures of native communities. Now, we wish to state our view that the delay will provide advantages to the nation in both an economic and political sense.

Arctic Gas has announced that it cannot finance the pipeline without government subsidy. This is another way of saying the project is not economic at this time. Ordinarily one would expect those in industry and finance to be opposed to a non-economic project because they are usually the spokesmen for free enterprise and they're against government intervention. Yet now we hear them clamour for a project which requires that government strengthen its control. Where is the virtue in this aggregate of multinationals clinging to the lifeboats of the Federal Government? Surely the wise course is to wait until a project is economic and can be financed on its own merits.

Canada has a multitude of capital projects competing for scarce resources. Our economic well-being will be served by ordering priorities rigorously, and our political well-being will be served by avoiding government intervention except where absolutely necessary.

It is because we're taking this view, that the pipeline is dead, that we've chosen to



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address our arguments to longer range issues that face Canadians in the North. In fact, we're filing our detailed recommendations but somewhat with the rueful awareness that they will serve merely as a curiousity when ultimately a northern pipeline is built.

This is not to say that the three years of this Inquiry have been a waste of time and money. For this Inquiry has done more to open a window in the North than any other event in Canadian history. Those thousands of witnesses at community hearings have had a political awakening and their compatriots in the south have had their eyes opened to the richness of the northern landscapes, peoples and resources.

Much is expected, and you, Mr. Commissioner, have had a lot to do with arousing those expectations. Our summation is that the enormous effect of this Inquiry would be wasted if those expectations are not met in the report that you will issue. You'll have to deal with appropriate terms and conditions but we suggest that you'll regard this exercise in hindsight as the least important part of your effort. We challenge you to point the direction for northern Canada.

This task requires that you define where we started from. You have heard the history of increasing contacts between native persons and Europeans commencing with fur traders and whalers and ending with explorationists seeking oil and minerals. You've seen the villages and communities, and heard



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the claims to aboriginal rights and cultural selfdetermination. You have the measure of environmental impacts in the three main geographical regions that a pipeline would affect; the North Slope, the delta, and the Mackenzie River Valley.

Documentation filed with this

Inquiry tells of the development of government in the

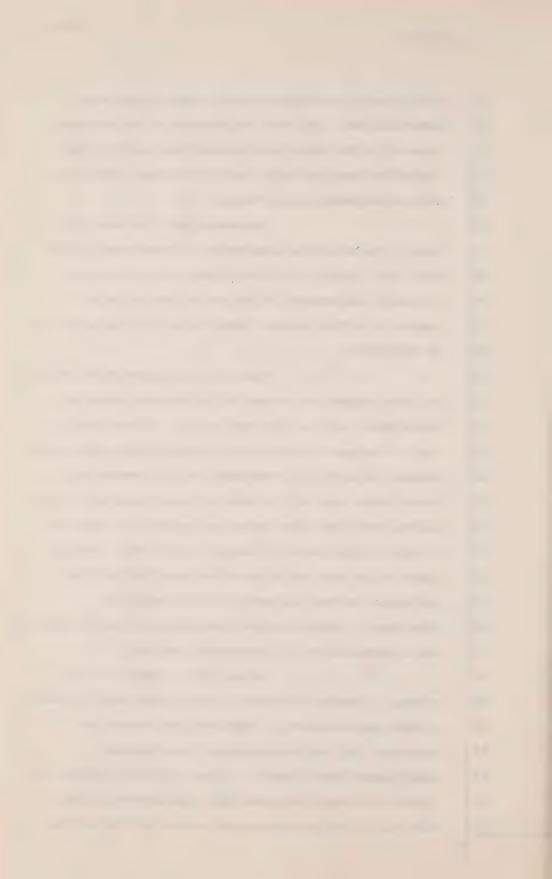
North and you can judge the extent to which it is

following the precedent of evolution from colonial

status to self-government established for the provinces
in the South.

Upon this biography of the North
you must impose the advent of the massive resource
developments of the last two decades. These developments have been characterized by monolithic coventuring
between industry and government which, however well
intentioned, can only be seen as conspiratorial by those
who believe that other values are equally as important
as rapid exploitation of natural resources. Some of
these values are the alternative uses that will be
prejudiced by the oil and gas fields and the
pipelines. Others are the less tangible ones of openness
and accountability in a democratic society.

We ask you to conclude that
we're at a turning point when clear choices must be made
between exploitation of resources now versus conservation for the future generations, between
developments that benefit northerners versus those that
benefit southern Canadians only, and between cultural
survival of native northerners versus self-government



ambitions for the non-natives.

In these key policy areas, we make recommendations. Starting with natives and non-natives. There are many unanswered questions about native land claims. While we think many and probably most Canadians are anxious to meet the proper claims of native peoples, they are with little guidance as to the nature of those claims and as to possible ways in which a settlement can be achieved. With negotiations in prospect, you, Mr. Commissioner, may be diffident about speaking out. -But you have a unique opportunity to understand the issues and you now have a unique opportunity to educate your fellow Canadians.

Decause without an understanding on the part of the public, no negotiated settlement will offer much promise of an abiding accommodation.

While conventional procedures would shroud negotiations in secrecy, that practice seems highly questionable when the nature of what is at stake is the future cultural, political and legal relationships between native and non-natives in the North, and all Canadians must be privy to those deliberations. I think the folly of secrecy in these negotiations has already been exposed by the interruption of those negotiations taking place in the Yukon.

What you, Mr. Commissioner, can tell the Canadian public in your report is your assessment of these questions:

Do native northerners have a sufficient understanding of the issues to say yes or no to a pipeline?



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1	ii)	Do they oppose the pipeline only until land claims
2		are settled, or do they oppose it because they
3		oppose the changes that development will bring?
4	iii)	Are the views of peoples widely held through all
5		regions and all age groups or are there identi-
6		fiable groups within the native peoples in favor
7		of or opposed to the pipeline?
8	iv)	Who speaks for the native northerners? Are the
9		native organizations being given a full opportunit
10		to represent native interests?
11	v)	Are native peoples capable of dealing with a land
12		settlement now and if not, what kinds of social
13		and political developments must take place before
14		a settlement and when?
15	vi)	Is there a set of interim measures that can be
16		taken to enable necessary land planning and
17		development to proceed while negotiations towards
18		settlement of land claims go forward?
19	vii)	What are the philosophical, political and legal
20		justifications for the Dene and I should say
21		the COPE and Inuit claim to self-determination
22		as distinct from the purely legal claims to
23		aboriginal rights, and what are the possible
24		alternative outcomes of these differing approaches
25		to settlement?
26	viii)	What kind of negotiating mechanisms are most
27		likely to expedite a proper settlement of land
28		claims having in mind that the negotiating process
29		established in the case of the Yukon natives seems

to have proven unworkable?



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Present and future generations.

The subject of energy conservation has many dimensions and, not surprisingly, I think has many meanings for this Inquiry. First, it is now acknowledged to be the cheapest means of meeting future energy requirements.

I just the other day read the report of the Chairman of the Science Council of Canada and in his annual report he puts forward the statement that the addition of a thousand B.T.U.'s of new energy, whatever source; nuclear, oil, natural gas, is in the range of about \$20.00 capital expenditure.

You can save the same 1,000 B.T.U.'s for capital expenditure of about \$5.00, and so what he's suggesting is that it's four times as efficient to spend your money on conservation than it is in developing new resource or new energy sources such as natural gas.

The second aspect of energy conservation must be assessed on a longer time scale. So long as the consumption of oil and gas continues at current rates, it is widely agreed that world supplies of hydrocarbons will be approaching exhaustion in the first quarter of the next century. One can assume that changing technology will provide our children and grandchildren with as rich an energy system as we enjoy today, but that assumption has to be simply an act of faith. A wiser, more generous course would be to begin conserving hydrocarbons now. Seen in this light, delaying the natural gas pipeline is a moral act, even if it means some shortage of natural gas supplies



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in the meantime.

But there's an even more
profound aspect of conservation. We refer to conservation of species and of natural systems. If you
believe that our grandchildren and great grandchildren
have a right to the preservation in their natural
state of the caribou it's the last of the great grazing
herds in a natural state that once included the
buffalo of North America and the wildebeast of Africa.
If you believe that, then the pipeline link across the
North Slope of the Alaska and Yukon must not be built.
Nor can you be sure that the oil and gas field operations
in the delta and the Beaufort Sea will not ultimately
imperil natural systems on which, for example, the earth of
climatic balance depends.

To approve the pipeline on the applicant's timetable is just to shrug off the interests of future generations in service of a mindless economic imperative that says that if you're forced to do without an extra cubic foot of gas, that's the worst form of mischief you can suffer.

Northerners and southerners.

As southerners, the members of C A R C have no hesitation in asserting their right to be heard on these issues. What we don't have a right to do is to impose our needs in southern Canada for energy resources on the North without taking into account northern needs and aspirations. You have evidence before you as to the regional, social and economic impacts and your report should show the consensus about these broad questions of



northern attitudes to development.

Federal and Territorial

Governments. Ten years ago the Carrothers Commission reported on the development of government in the Northwest Territories. One of their recommendations was that there should be a follow-up report within a decade. It's a decade now. In many ways, this Inquiry has been that follow-up. You have had an unparalleled opportunity to observe government in action in the North.

You are familiar with the recommendations of Dr. Carrothers and his fellow commissioners and you are aware of the important steps that have been taken, such as the establishment of this territorial capital of Yellowknife and the relocation of many government services here and elsewhere in the North and in the context of managing social, economic and environmental impacts, your assessment of the appropriateness and competence of government services and operations could provide direction for the next decade.

The issues are enormously far reaching. Is the Territory ready for further major steps towards self-government? What should they be?

Is a typical southern province a suitable model for the Territory? Should natural resources and their management be reserved for federal ownership and control as in the case of the prairie provinces and they're beginning to 1930? How are native land claims and the claim to Dene self-determination to be stitched



into the fabric of government? How can a project like a Mackenzie Valley natural gas pipeline be managed efficiently so that social, economic and environmental impacts are controlled and minimized with debilitating local government institutions and dislocating

Territorial and Federal government services?



7 Or. as Mr. Sigler would put it. 2 inviting the hordes of new federal bureaucrats to seize the north. How can resource management and land planning decisions be made in the interim when permanent institutions are 5 evolving? 6 It would be easy to say that these 7 formidable questions transcend the Inquiry's mandate. But that makes them no less the really important issues we face. We urge you to see your mandate broadly, for no one is in a better position to give guidance and direction. 11 Mr. Sigler argues that you should 12 report on these regional, social and political aspirations, 13 that you shouldn't make recommendations. Well, that's just 14 not consistant. We agree that these impacts and these aspirations are within your terms of reference and that being the case you have a mandate, you have a duty to make recommenda-17 tions. 18 The citizen and the state. Above 19 all else, CARC stands for the idea that citizens in a free society have the privilege and duty to become well-informed 21 about the nation's affairs, to make their views known, and to 22 call their political leaders to account. The system breaks down, and democracy with it, if information is not readily 24 available, if opportunities to present viewpoints are not pro-25 vided, if decisions are secret, and if the politicians lose 26 control over the bureaucracy. All of these deficiencies have 27 been acutely present in the north. Particularly since Canada embarked on a series of major energy projects in the '70's, government and industry have closed rank and used the claims of scale and compexity to exclude the citizen and in our estimation to bypass Parliament. 30 Information, which is difficult to come by at the best of times in the Canadian system, and

this has been an issue of national concern lately,



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is even more restricted in the north where distances are vast and remoteness impedes the normal distribution of news through the media. The vestiges of colonial government and the fledgling nature of local institutions together with restricted flow of information means that the opportunities to present viewpoints are extremely limited. In the area of natural resources, which presently lies outside the purview of the Territorial Government, there is no opportunity for debate or argument other than provided in Parliament, and Ottawa is far away with only two sitting members. In any event, most matters affecting natural resources are provided for by regulations which do not even get before. Parliament in any debating forum. You've heard evidence as to the opportunities in the Territorial Council for debate about amendments to the land use regulations, (Graham Beakhust), and you are aware that the Northern Inland Waters Act is the one exception where a Statute of Parliament calls for hearings to be held in the Territory prior to the issue of a water licence (McLeod), and these witnesses left no doubt that in these isolated examples bureaucrats seem reluctant to afford citizens a chance to be heard.

government and industry has been documented in two recent publications filed with the Inquiry. I refer to Edgar Dosman's book, "The National Interest:

The Politics of Northern Development," and I refer to the book by Dr. Pimlott, "Oil Un der the Ice: Offshore Drilling in the Canadian Arctic."

This closing of ranks by



This restricted flow of information and lack of opportunities to be heard, and the secrecy of decision all contribute to a breakdown of political control over the bureaucracy, and when Parliament too is ineffectual in its supervision, there is real danger to the body politic, and that's why that's the situation as we see it. CARC recently, appearing before the Committee on Natural Resources, confronted members of Parliament with the charge that they were failing to discharge their responsibility. In fact, the reason for establishment of this very Inquiry can be seen to be in large measure due to Parliament's failure to establish northern policy.

In appearing before that just fast February we argued that if Parliamentarians were given the financial and logistic support necessary to watchdog the official side of government, Inquiries of this scale would seldom be necessary.

The relevance of all this, this failure of our democratic institutions, is to underline how significant -- it may not be relevant in the narrow view of whether we build a pipeline from A to B, but that's what you're here for, sir -- the relevance of this recital is to underline the significance of holding this Inquiry. It's provided northerners and southerners a major opportunity to gain information, to present their views, and the ultimate decision about this pipeline will be an open one and it will be fully in accord with democratic traditions.

But this Inquiry must not be



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recorded in history as one flash of brilliance and light in an otherwise darkened landscape.

Surely one of the most important recommendations you can provide, Mr.

Commissioner, is a formula for public participation in future decision-making about natural resource developments in the north. Alternative natural gas pipelines will have to be considered. In time there may be an application for an oil pipeline. Major hydro-electric projects on the drawing boards; highways are planned to complete a transportation network; new mines as large as Anvil or Pine Point are in the portfolios of the major resource companies. All of these justify impact assessment and public review as much as any gas pipeline.

CARC opposes the environmental impact assessment procedures now conducted by the Federal Government as in the case of drilling for oil in the Beaufort so long as they remain in-house and without public participation.

whether the north will slip back behind the bureaucratic barricades or whether this Inquiry will be a landmark for the future. This isn't to suggest that each resource decision must be prefaced by the full paraphernalia of this Inquiry. I'm sure you wouldn't want to have to go through this many more times, sir. But its essence should be defined, and you, Mr. Commissioner, are in the most favored position to recommend how future projects should be assessed as to their social,



economic and environmental impacts.

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In our view the essential elements of your Inquiry are the following:

- . The detailed presentation of environmental and social impact evidence and rigorous testing of that evidence through cross-examination in formal hearings;
- . The discovery process whereby parties, as well as the government, were required to disclose and produce studies and reports in their possession relative to the Inquiry;
- . The two-level feature of the Inquiry whereby in addition to the formal hearings, there were informal community hearings at which people could speak in their own way and in their own languages;
- . The communication of issues and the evidence to the public through wide multi-lingual media coverage and southern dty hearings; and finally
- The support of third party appearances by native organizations, northern municipalities and environm ental groups in the formal hearings so that rigorous examination of the issues could proceed.

We ask you to recommend to
the government that hearings including at least these
essential elements be convened to enquire into each
new major project proposed for northern Canada. In
particular, a Polar Gas Pipeline proposal must be
examined by an independent public inquiry, otherwise
you would have an obvious conflict of interest situation
because it's likely that the applican ts for that
pipeline will include Crown corporations and if you



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had a strictly in-house assessment, it would be a typical incestuous type relationship. Such an inquiry need not be as wide in scope or as lengthy in duration as this Inquiry, because there will be the findings and recommendations of this Inquiry to build on.

In particular, an inquiry into the environme ntal, social and economic impacts of an Alaska Highway delivery system for Prudhoe Bay natural gas can be conducted in substantially abridged time because much of the evidence received by this Inquiry will be relevant and need not be repeated.

It's been argued that these public Inquiries are a waste of time and money. Ministers and their departments abetted by industry will be tempted to proceed without them, as has happened in the case of drilling in the Beaufort Sea. We can only repeat our warnings of the danger. Nothing is more certain to produce alienation and apathy than giant technological projects requiring large capital expenditures and vast public and private bureaucracies.

Nearly 100 years ago Lord Bryce talked about the fatalism of the multitude.

"The sense of insignificance of individual
effort, the belief that the affairs of men
are swayed by large forces whose movement
may be studied but cannot be swayed."

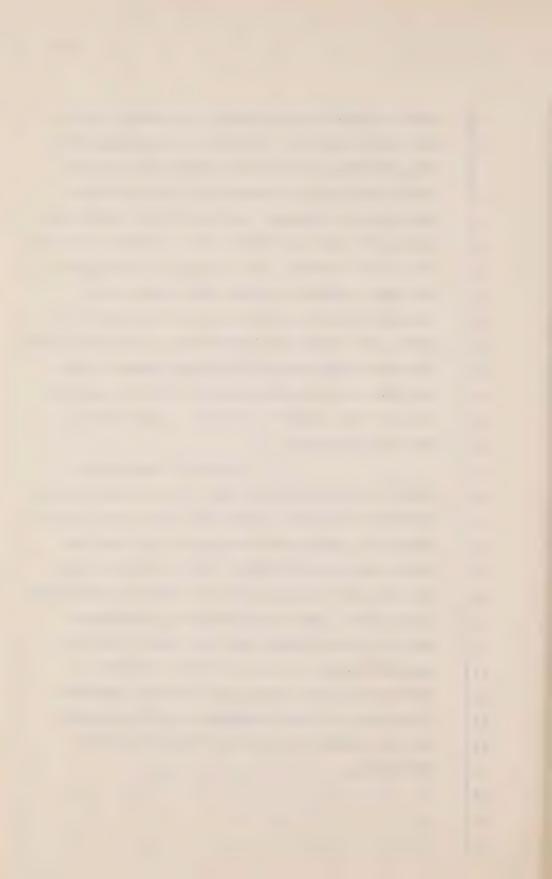
This fatalism could spell the end of Parliamentary
Government. You, Mr. Commissioner, once referred to the

prevalent view that says that a decision in this



ment and in industry. They have the knowledge. They have the facts. They have the experience. But your Inquiry has put that proposition to the test, and I think found it wanting. You've put other propositions to the test and found there's still a vibrant political life in this country. Your Inquiry has shown that if you treat citizens as equals, and respect their procedural concerns, they will respond in a positive manner. The Inquiry has shown that if you give citizens the time and the means to understand complex issues they will not only participate but will add new dimensions and new insights to bear on technological and social problems.

In time, as populations increase and as social and political institutions gain strength in the north, there will develop more routine systems for planning and authorizing land uses and natural resource developments and we've heard pleas today for the development of land planning institutions in the north. These new systems will undoubtedly build on the procedures that this Inquiry and later inquiries adopt. So in our view the procedure established in this Inquiry can provide a precedent in many ways for the development of self-government that will endure far into the future life of the Territories.



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Delta experience. We're concerned, Mr. Commissioner, lest your report should serve merely to obscure the real issues facing Canadians. Should it deal only with the

The Beaufort Sea and the Mackenzie

pipeline, it would surely have that effect. The opportunity would have been lost to prove that

Canadians have a more noble aspirations for the North

than merely exploit the resources, and a more abiding

faith in themselves than merely to leave policy to government and industry.

government and industry.

These alternatives are, as it were, waiting in the wings. When the Berger Inquiry leaves centre stage, the model of cabinet approval of drilling in the Beaufort is ready to take its place. That model, characterized by haste, by secrecy, and by a single minded exploitation method is fully exposed in Dr. Pimlott's book, "Oil Under the Ice".

But there's even a risk that your report will lend legitimacy to the Beaufort Sea procedures. However tentatively, you have accepted testimony as to the environmental risks and hazards attendant on deep sea drilling, just as you have heard witnesses on the environmental impact of production facilities and gathering lines in the Mackenzie Delta. Surely these were not merely exercises in public relations. But we were disturbed in terms of Commission counsel's submissions to this Inquiry that any reference and then

there was no reference to the Beaufort Sea drilling,



any reference to the delta on this subject was included only in a socio-economic assessment under the heading stability and growth. Unless your report deals with the environmental impacts and the procedures by which these projects have been approved, it will be taken that they have a stamp of rectitude.

We recommend that you assess the effectiveness of the research program that preceded the commencement of drilling in the Beaufort Sea, that you comment on the environmental assessment procedures adopted for the Beaufort Sea and the Mackenzie Delta and that you should suggest follow-up procedures that that will ensure incidents like the recent blow-out at the Dome-Hunt well will be openly investigated.

discussed bear on the relationships between the environment and industrial development. Until man can govern himself, he's not likely to manage the environment well. Since government in the North is so embryonic and tenuous, with major relationships undefined, it is obviously wise to postpone industrial development that can be predicted to have major adverse impacts.

In our opinion, the adverse impacts of constructing a pipeline across the North Slope of Alaska and the Yukon, and across the Mackenzie Delta are so severe as to clearly outweigh any advantages of such a routing. We will prepare our detailed analysis of these. My senior counsel will outline these adverse impacts shortly. In the meantime, I wish to state our view that an alternative means of



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delivering Prudhoe Bay natural gas to the United States markets should be utilized.

There are also serious environmental concerns about pipelining the Mackenzie River Valley. Should an oil pipeline be accelerated because of construction of a gas pipeline, there will sooner be the hazard of major oil spills carried down the river into the delta as well as all the impacts identified with construction and related activities. Cumulatively, these justify delaying approval of the pipeline unless its need is conclusively demonstrated as a national imperative now. We think this need is not shown.

In any event, it's common sense that alternatives be explored. We ask you, Mr. Commissioner, to recommend that the alternative of a natural gas delivery system to southern markets from the Arctic Islands be fully investigated and publicly reviewed alongside the Mackenzie Valley proposals Such a project might better meet Canada's energy and economic priorities than the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline even apart from consideration of the many adverse social and environmental impacts. Should it be true, as we believe, that the timetable for the Mackenzie Valley proposals is really dictated by the needs of United States customers for Prudhoe Bay gas, then that gas can find its way south by one of the alternative routes now before the United States regulatory tribunals.

Thank you, Mr. Commissioner.



In view of the time-- Mr. Anthony will carry on.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,

Dr. Thompson.

MR. ANTHONY: Mr. Commissioner, if I may, I would now like to turn to the geotechnical engineering and construction and the environmental aspects raised by this project.

Though major portions of the proposed pipeline route were relocated during the course of this Inquiry, and many of the specific techniques and procedures to be employed were not known, the technical phases of the Inquiry were an important background to predict and evaluate the potential environmental impact of the proposed pipeline.

Canada's Arctic is our last frontier and while there may be experience with pipeline construction in other areas, as Mr. Gibbs so confidently asserted yesterday, where the question of a pipeline construction in the fragile northern environment is concerned we must approach as neophytes largely ignorant and subject to physical and biological constraints not previously encountered.

We must, therefore, approach construction of a pipeline in Canada's Arctic humbly and cautiously: C A R C will not be presenting detailed recommendations concerning the significant geotechnical problems raised by the project. Rather, we bring to your attention a series of geotechnical, engineering and construction concerns that are crucial to an understanding



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of the environmental impact of the proposed Mackenzie
Valley Pipeline. In our view, these crucial issues
have not been satisfactorily resolved. The onus is
on the applicant to advise this Inquiry what it proposes
to do and satisfy those responsible for examining the
impact of their proposal that the preventative and
remedial measures are practical and that they'll work.

With respect to a great number of major geotechnical and engineering issues posed by construction of the first chilled buried gas pipeline in permafrost the onus has not, in our view, been satisfied.

The Canadian Arctic Resources

Committee is forced to conclude, after reviewing the

vast amount of highly sophisticated, yet often

contradictory evidence, that the applicants, in order

to build a pipeline within the timeframe proposed, are

willing to use the last Canadian frontier as an ex
perimental ground to prove their technology.

Time and time again throughout this Inquiry the geotechnical witnesses were forced to rely on formulas, models and southern experiences unsubstantiated by actual northern field experience to explain and justify the geotechnical conclusions they have drawn. The northern test facilities used were representative of only a very small portion of the terrain encountered by the proposed pipeline route in the North.

The Calgary test facilities have proven suspect and issues of great importance and



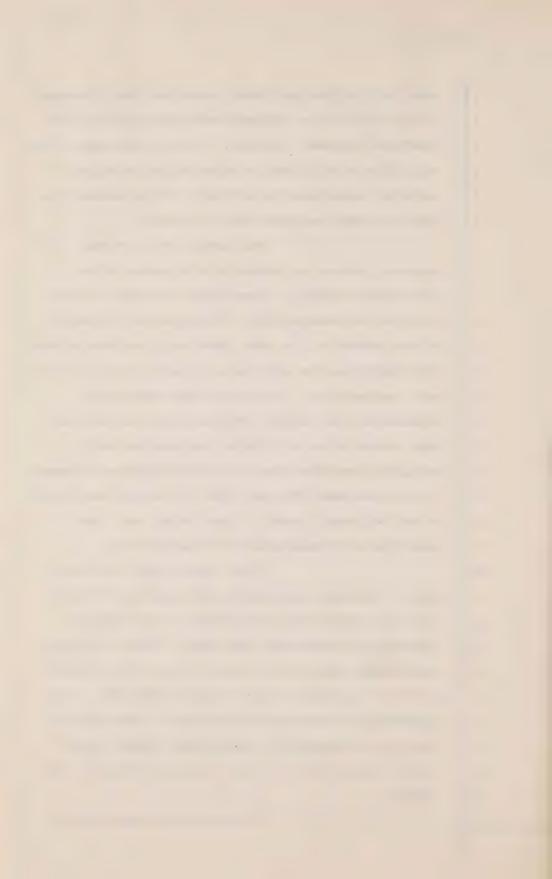
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even the pipeline applicants themselves have disagreed on their ability to construct the pipeline within the timeframe proposed. Frankly, it worries me when at the conclusion of this Inquiry on great issues of geotechnical importance, we are left with statements like you just treat the permafrost like rock.

This Inquiry does not have adequate information before it on a number of key geotechnical issues. It would be the height of folly to allow the construction of the pipeline to proceed at the present or, in fact, under any timeframe without first requiring the applicants to demonstrate that all major geotechnical, engineering and construction problems will be solved. Because the applicants have been unable to do so to date, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee submits that this Inquiry recommend to the Government of Canada that it require resolution of the following issues, in particular, as a precondition to proceeding with the application.

First, frost heave and frost bulb. The issues surrounding the question of frost heave and frost bulb, particularly in the areas of discontinuous permafrost have been a subject of major controversy before this Inquiry. This is as it should be given the state of art at the present time. While the safety of the proposed pipeline is undoubtedly an item to be considered by the National Energy Board, it is a matter that is also of central concern to this Inquiry.

If this Inquiry must evaluate



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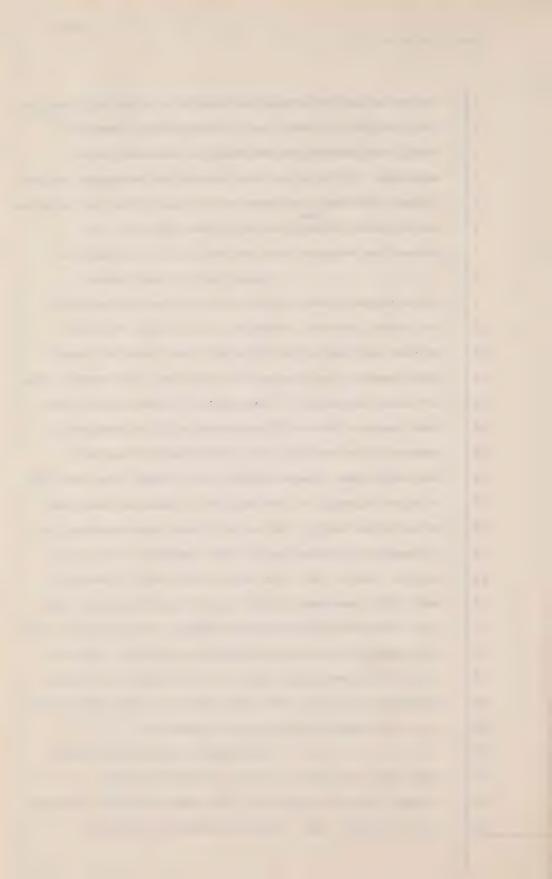
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the potential environmental impacts of a buried, chilled gas pipeline, it must, as a precondition, know in detail the protective and remedial measures to be employed. It is up to this Inquiry to determine whether is has sufficient evidence to establish that the pipeline the can be built as applicants proposes and that the protective measures they propose will be effective.

Questions of frost heave, differential heave and discontinuous permafrost and fen areas, shut-off pressures, limits for chilling, surface and sub-surface drainage are issues of great environmental importance. In our view, the answers have not been convincing. The position taken initially was that adequate shut-off pressures could be obtained to prevent frost-heave by the utilization of basically two techniques, deeper burial and a berm. Now that the original calculation for shut-off pressures have been shown to be faulty, the use of these techniques may be in question and the use of other remedial techniques such as removal of frost susceptible soils, have not been fully assessed. While Arctic Gas has stated that it is satisfied that various remedial measures will work, even though they have not demonstrated where and how they will be employed along the pipeline route, these techniques have not yet been considered and field tested given the expected new cut-off pressures.

Nor should this Inquiry merely accept the comments of counsel, as eminent as counsel for Arctic Gas is, that these remedial measures will, in fact, work. As was pointed out by the



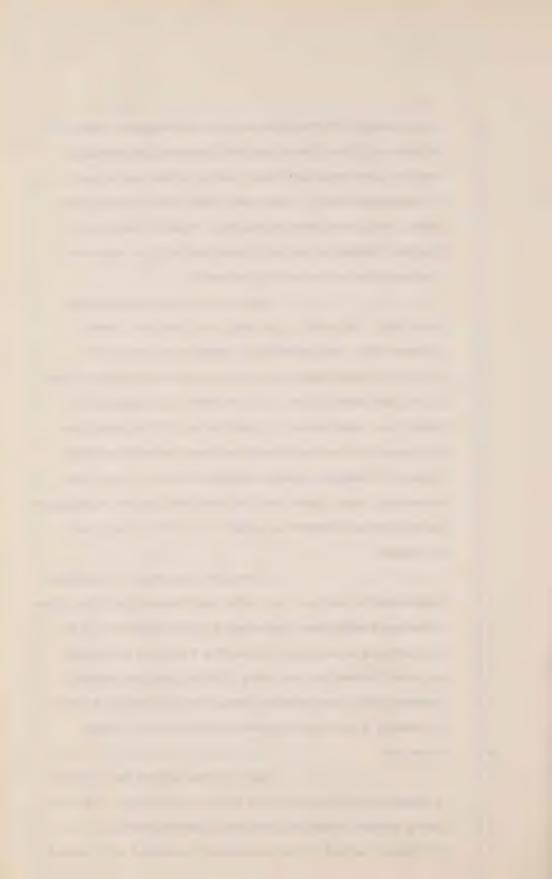
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Environmental Protection Board, the measures designed to prevent frost heave called "protective measures" are the same measures that are expected to be used by the applicant in the event that frost heave does occur, only now they're called "remedial measures". One has reason to be wary when protective measures are recycled as remedial measures.

Major questions remain to be resolved. We submit the applicant has not demonstrated that its proposal to ensure sub-surface, or sub-surface drainage through the frost bulb by use of an insulated pipe will, in fact, be successful. Given the importance, in particular, of sub-surface drainage to the fish resource where over-wintering areas of fish are located downstream of a pipeline crossing, this issue must be resolved before conclusions as to the environmental impact of the project can be drawn.

requirements can one say with confidence that the river crossing techniques suggested by the applicant will, in fact, be adequate. Since the remedial measures at river crossings are more limited and may demand unacceptably deep excavations, there is every reason to demand a thorough re-evaluation of each river crossing.

Such re-evaluation may require a reconsideration of above ground crossings. If the above ground crossings suddenly become feasible, a different series of environmental concerns are raised.



These concerns have not been the subject of evidence before this Inquiry and their impacts cannot be

The limit of chilling has similarly been the subject of controversy though it is central to a determination of the environmental impact of the proposed pipeline. Arctic Gas, Foothills and the Environmental Protection Board have, all three, presented evidence on where chilling of the gas should cease in the discontinuous permafrost zone. None of the three entirely agree on either location or methodology. This matter must be resolved before the actual impact of the pipeline on the environment can be determined.



We make therefore the following

recommendations.

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1. This Inquiry conclude that there is not sufficient evidence to determine the environmental impact of a chilled, buried gas pipeline because the question of the nature and extent of anticipated frost heave and frost bulb problems have not been determined. Until there is evidence demonstrating the problem of frost heave has been fully and accurately understood and the remedial measures proposed have been tested in field experiments covering the broad range of conditions to be encountered, no application for a buried, chilled gas pipeline should be entertained.

2. The use and success of remedial measures proposed by the applicants, particularly those proposed to ensure subsurface draining through the frost bulb, have not been adequately demonstrated. Because of the crucial importance of this technique to impact on the fisheries resource this technique must be studied in great detail and no conclusions of environmental impact on the fish resource can be drawn until this information is available and evaluated.

3. There is insufficient evidence to allow this Inquiry to conclude the appropriate methodology or establish the location for the limits of chilling. Because of the importance of this matter in evaluating the environmental impact, particularly in drainage and erosion control in the discontinuous permafrost zone, no conclusions on the environmental impact of the gas pipeline is possible until this matter has been further studied and



evaluated.

Now, I would like to turn to the issue of snow roads. With rare unanimity the environmental witnesses appearing before this Inquiry have agreed that the environmental impact of the proposed pipeline would be dramatically increased if construction of the pipeline was accompanied by road access. All parties were in agreement that no road access should be maintained along the pipeline right-of-way, particularly on the North Slope of the Yukon. Hence, the success of the proposed use of snow roads to facilitate the movement of men and equipment during the construction season is of crucial importance.

Snow roads of the standard required to handle the volume and weight of anticipated traffic for pipeline construction have not been adequately tested throughout the range of seasons and snow conditions anticipated. Neither have the snow harvesting or snow manufacturing techniques been demonstrated in field testing to produce the volume of snow that might be required. The long term and indirect effects of winter roads has yet to be evaluated.

The fear has been expressed that there may be problems with the use of snow roads in certain terrain and gradients and most significantly in areas of high ice content soils, such as the Yukon North Slope. On the basis of experience in Alaska, evidence has been presented that maintenance of snow roads for the construction season proposed, given the snowfall of the area has not been satisfactorily proved.



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Since the applicants are unable to predict in advance or control the amount of snow or the date at which the tundra will be able to accept construction of a snow road, even with manufactured snow, the very real possibility exists of a poor experience with snow road use and a request for permission to construct gravel roads after the first construction season. Because that possibility does exist, CARC views this issue as a concern of highest priority. CARC submits that the applicant has not demonstrated that its construction schedule can be maintained using only snow roads under all - possible weather conditions and season variations that might be encountered, particularly on the Yukon North Slope and in the Mackenzie Delta. Because permanent or semi-permanent roads are environmentally unacceptable in these areas a question of the construction and standards of construction of snow roads must be resolved in advance of approval of the pipeline project.

We therefore make the following

recommendations:

1. It be written as an unalterable term of any approval to build a pipeline that no permanent or semi-permanent roads or gravel pads or similar access are to be allowed in any circumstances along any portion of the pipeline route and more specifically along the North Slope of the Yukon or the Mackenzie Delta.

2. That further research be conducted to demonstrate the viability of the use of snow roads on ice rich soils and in all circumstances



likely to be encountered and not merely on the basis of average conditions.

actual field conditions. In particular research be directed to consider the environmental impact of snow fences and the withdrawal of water for snow manufacturing.

I refer now to construction scheduling. Concern has been expressed, both from the environmental intervenors and residents of the north and from Mr. Gibbs in Calgary that the proposed construction schedule is unrealistic and will lead to environmental impacts that remain unidentified and unevaluated. The winter construction schedule particularly on the North Slope of the Yukon, is tied to the availability of snow and the length of time an acceptable snow road can be maintained. Concern has been expressed as to the ability of a snow road to be maintained throughout the construction schedule proposed, the environmental effects of abandonment of the snow road in the spring, personnel problems with winter construction, productivity estimates, work slippage and many other potential problems with a tight construction schedule.

Except for engineering proposals
to help extend the life of the snow road during the
spring season, the applicants have not provided contingency
plans or alternatives they propose to follow in the event
that the snow road does not last throughout the period
required by their construction work schedule. Right

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to the end of this Inquiry the question as to whether or not the proposed construction schedule is realistic particularly in the Yukon North Slope and, we would submit, in the Mackenzie Delta, has been a contentious issue.

I perhaps would like to refer here to two comments by the applicants delivered to this Inquiry that I find particularly disturbing.

Mr. Gibbs, in his discussions of the construction schedule, stated that in his view, in the view of Foothills, that the alternative appears to be either a two winter construction schedule on the North Slope or some summer construction. Mr. Marshall in delivering Arctic Gas' submission, in particular on page Cl3, raised the possibility of what happens if the government demands to do some summer construction. Now, I would suggest —

THE COMMISSIONER: I think to be fair, I raised that with Mr. Marshall during the hearings and he was responding. I had raised it because of the fact as Mr. Horte has told us Arctic Gas wants the government to guarantee any borrowings exceeding a 25 percent overrun as well as any interruption of -- as well as repayment of the borrowings to cover any interruption of service from any cause, any major interruption of service. So that, I said gave the government an interest in -- might well give the government an interest in seeing construction proceed even in summer because, of course, they would be the people who would be suffering financially once that



25 percent overrun had been reached. At any rate, Mr. Marshall didn't inject that into the argument, I did.

MR. ANTHONY: Yes, Mr. Commissioner,

I was merely --

THE COMMISSIONER: If that gets

us anywhere.

MR. ANTHONY: I merely wanted to point out that that possibility which quite properly is an issue that we must consider along with the evidence we have already heard about the need for repair in the summer, the compressor station construction and stockpiling and so on, creates to my mind -- if Mr. Ballem will excuse me\_-- an ugly scenario. The possibility of summer construction we must -- as remote as that may be and we certainly it is remote and we accept what Arctic Gas has had to say that they are committed not to use it -- I think the point must be made that all of the environmental predictions particularly with respect to the North Slope are based on the fact that there will be no summer construction.

Therefore, if that is even a remote possibility we add to our recommendation dealing with the construction scheduling the very strongest term that there be no pipeline construction at all in the summer under any circumstances and if Arctic Gas is strongly committed to this and they are urging this on the government, we would join them in that very strong recommendation.

Secondly, that the applicant



particularly when considering construction on the

North Slope of the Yukon and in the Mackenzie Delta

has not demonstrated that its construction work

schedule is practical in all climatic conditions that

may be encountered during the construction season.

Therefore a more conservative construction schedule

must be required of the applicant, particularly in the

early years of construction, to ensure that construction

will take place only during the times of the year when

environmental damage can be kept within acceptable limits.

Thirdly, a contingency plan much farther than the material that has been filed to date by Arctic Gas must be prepared which provides for alternative construction timing in the event of slippage or if climatic or other environmental conditions demand an unanticipated reduction in the winter construction season.

I now turn to the question of river crossings. Of particular concern in the design and construction of the proposed pipeline is the question of river crossings. Because any failure or threat to the integrity of the gas pipeline requires immediate attention and repair, and because vital water bodies cannot be tampered with during particular times of the year, either because of rapid runoff or because of particular sensitivity due to fish migration, the environmental concern over river crossings is particularly acute. The problems of slumping, avalanching, and solifluction along disturbed banks during warmer weather, river icings and scour, sedimentation and siltation, disposal of the



dredged materials and maintenance of subsurface drainage all add to this concern. Should deeper burial be required this will result in more costly construction procedures at river crossings with greater environmental degradation because of the need to dispose of larger amounts of material and the probability that longer river crossing construction time will be required.

In the view of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee the possibility of using overhead crossings has not been adequately examined. In view of the fact that a greater shut-off pressure may be required than originally estimated with, hence, anticipated greater costs in river crossings, the economic viability of overhead crossings should be re-examined.

Our recommendation is, sir,

that the possibility of overhead river crossings

be re-examined particularly for deep narrow crossings or

crossings with ice-rich banks.

The second recommendation with respect to consideration of the question of river crossings.

I now turn to the question of re-vegetation.



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Because of the importance of the revegetation process on the slope stability, terrain degradation and drainage and erosion control, the revegetation procedures must be demonstrated to be effective within the time frame required for rehabilitation. The two pipeline applicants have submitted independent revegetation programs and have criticized the other's programs as unsuited to the requirements of revegetation. Neither applicant has shown that its revegetation program will be successful in all of the areas that will be employed, particularly in ice-rich permafrost and on slopes where erosion may be a problem. Both revegetation programs are dependent on a stable soil surface with particular criteria to assist in propagation and on the ability to initiate seeding at a critical time of the year. Neither revegetation program, however, has evaluated its program in all types of terrain to be encountered or if seeding cannot take place at the times and in the manner anticipated.

Our recommendations are:

- 1. The applicants must conduct further field testing to demonstrate the acceptability of the respective revegetation programs particularly on slopes and areas of ice-rich permafrost.
- 2. The applicants shall demonstrate that the revegetation program or some alternative program designed to prevent erosion and other adverse environmental impacts, is possible in areas of sensitivity in the event that revegetation cannot take place at the



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1	optimum time and in the manner proposed, and I think,
2	for example, here, Mr. Commissioner, the situat
3	ion of long terms of fog on the North Slope at a time
4	when revegetation by aerial revegetation is required.
5	You will recall that there is a time frame within
6	which revegetation should be initiated, and we have
7	the problem of the caribou migration and so on, and
8	our concern is that should there be long periods of
9	fog and this critical period, what then? That's the
0	sort of information we seek to get further experience
1	on and further information.
2	I dealt with these short-
3	comings and our concern about the experimentation on the
4	north in the geological sense. I now would like to
5	address a few comments with respect to this question
6	of the environmental
7	THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
3	I don't know what your program is, but I suppose
9	Commission counsel wants you to carry on for a little
0	while longer. He's saying, "Yes."
1	We'll take just about a two o
2	three-minute break so that I can carry on for the next
3	half-hourand assimilate this.
4	(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)
5	(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)
6	THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
7	let's take our seats and carry on until before

you begin, Mr. Anthony, I should say that in addition

to the evidence that has been given at these hearings,

both the formal hearings and the community hearings,



the Inquiry has received hundreds of briefs from 7 people all over Canada, and I have read all of them 2 and I mention it because they are representations that 3 I have by no means overlooked, and I have received a Δ brief from Gina Blondin, Rosemary Cairns, Valerie 5 Herder and Mary Curtain which will be marked as an 6 exhibit, and which I will read and study, and if they 7 are here I want them to understand that in fact their 8 views will be considered in a way that the views of 9 · hundreds of Canadians have been considered that have 10 simply written to the Inquiry by mail. All of those 7.7 briefs, by the way, have been marked as exhibits and 12 have been treated the same way as the evidence received 13 at the hearings though given the nature of our task 14 they are not necessarily as relevant in all respects 15 -- to say nothing of this brief because I haven't 16 read it yet -- but at any rate, carry on, Mr. Anthony. 17 It must be getting close to 18 quitting time.

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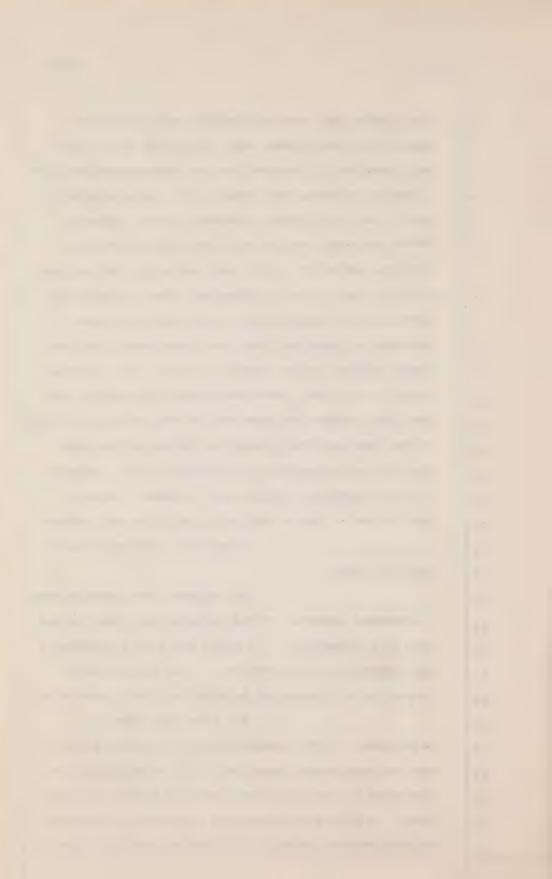
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MR. ANTHONY: Mr. Commissioner,

I addressed comments of the geotechnical concerns and gaps in information. I would now like to address a few comments with respect to our concern with respect to environmental information that's available.

The pace and scope of development in the Canadian Arctic is taking place at such an accelerated rate that it is outstripping our knowledge of the environment and the wildlife of the So little environmental evidence is available on such matters as wildlife dynamics, and over such a



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relatively short period of time that it is almost impossible tomake a prediction of environmental impact of the pipeline in a number of critical areas.

The environmental submissions and the recommendations of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee are spelled out in detail in the sections dealing with the particular environmental concern. Almost every section contains a series of recommendations for further study and research.

The problem , as we see it, has been not only the gaps in the research and the knowledge gaps in understanding the environmental impact, but that the research has often been misdirected given the real needs of the northern communities. For example, the whitefish is one of the most important species for subsistence and commercial use, yet was one of the least studied. Though the Mackenzie Delta area is one of the most important beluga calving areas, no direct disturbance studies were conducted and even the precise location of the calving area is still unknown.

a little at a time will be intolerable to aquatic organisms, there is similarly no evidence that inc rementally it is environmentally acceptable. Again such research is vital before one can conclude or make any conclusions with respect to environmental impact.

Now yesterday Mr. Genest criticized some of our requests for further study and



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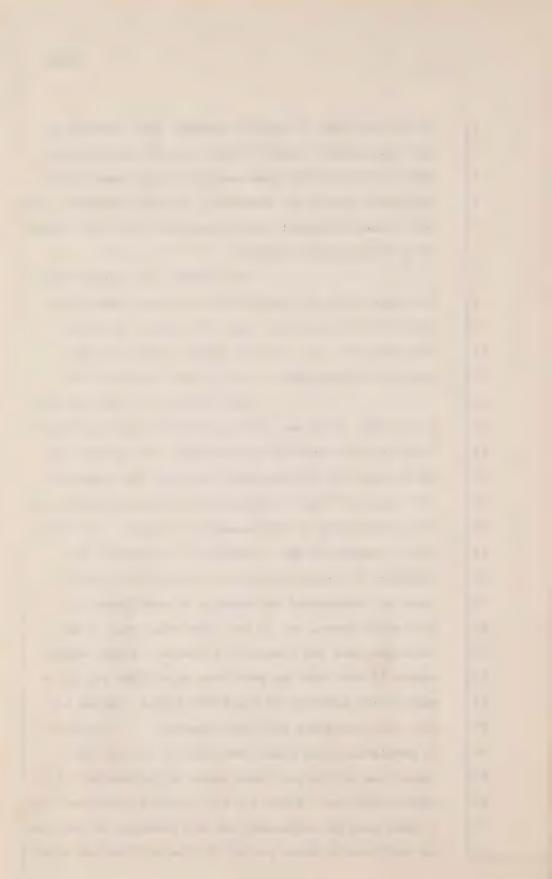
he labelled some of them as concerns with respect to game management, though I would suggest that research that is required for game management may itself be a legitimate reason for demanding further research, since these game management plans themselves have been brought on by the pipeline proposal.

Our request goes beyond that.

We suggest that you require this further research to obtain information over time. Throughout the Arctic Gas submission they talk in terms of "This is the pattern of development; this is what happens," etc.

But a three or a four or even

a five-year study may not establish any real pattern. It is this concern for understanding the cycles and the patterns of environmental matters, the dynamics, if I may say, that is perhaps the greatest concern and the greatest gap in environmental evidence. If I may use an example of why I think it's important. Mr. Marshall, I believe, yesterday provided you with a graph to demonstrate the numbers of snow geese in particular years, and in one particular year it was quite low, and the concern, of course, is what would happen if that was the year when Arctic Gas was to do most of its activity on the North Slope? Can we say with any confidence that the dynamics, the cycle of population size would come back if in fact the impact was on the year when there is particularly a natural decline? Those are the sorts of questions that I think must be addressed, and why research is required not only over a short period of time or directed solely



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to impact on any sort of average condition for the usual condition on the basis of one or two years' study.

Canadian Arctic Resources

Committee has attempted to identify a number of environmental areas requiring further research and study, and indicate the knowledge gaps that exist. CARC submits that until these knowledge gaps have been satisfied, no comprehensive understanding of the potential environmental impact of the proposed gas pipeline is possible and any consideration of major development projects should proceed with extreme caution.

Our predictions of impact can only be as good as our data, and in too many instances our data base is inadequate. One of the ways to improve this data base is to give permanent protection to certain areas that will be long-term outdoor laboratories and that is why CARC urges in another part of its submission that several proposed I.B.P. sites be set aside before any pipeline right-of-way is approved.

For many geotechnical and environmental questions, the theme of the applicants of this Inquiry has been to leave the details to be worked out during final design. We also note that many of the environmental management goals, for example those mentioned in the 1972 pipeline guidelines, with abundant use of terms such as "minimize impact" or "acceptable standards" still remain vague. CARC stresses that leaving important questions to final design and leaving many environmental management steps as vague goals such as to minimize impact can only mean



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that pipeline construction would in effect be a large experimental undertaking. The uncertainties of proposed geotechnical projects with many gaps in our knowledge of northern environment and a local national and international importance to northern habitat are all reasons why we should proceed with caution and should not be guilty of experimenting on the north.

Mr. Commissioner, not only are we experimenting on the north, but we may be experimenting for a long period of time, and I would like to address a few comments if I may on the question of looping before we close.

Evidence at this Inquiry indicated a distinct possibility that the proposed Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline would be looped and that this looping may even commence soon after the completion of initial construction. This would extend the construction activity in the Mackenzie Valley area beyond the period suggested in the current application, and added to the possibility of an oil pipeline could result in construction activity for as long as 15 to 20 years.

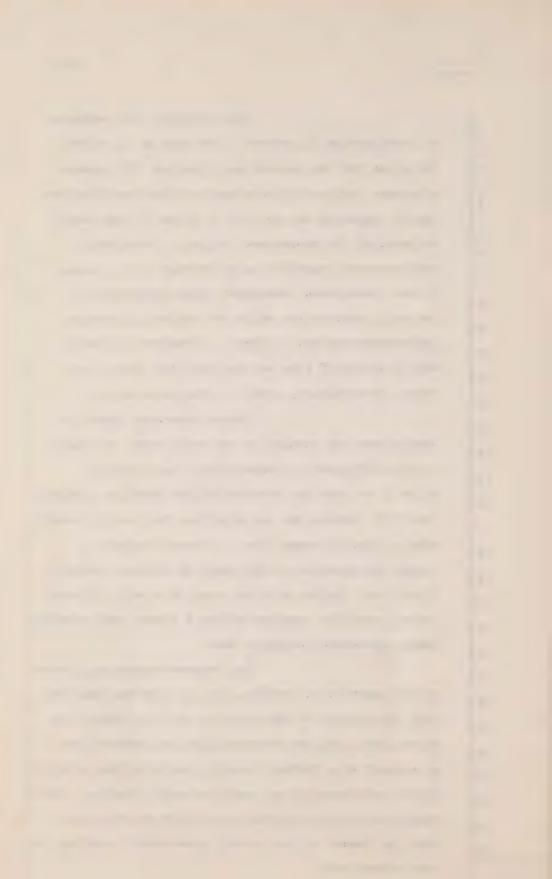
encounter many of the same problems studied with respect to construction of this pipeline, with the added significant environmental feature that it will be constructed in an area already heavily impacted by the first pipeline and may, if current plans for an oil pipeline are followed, be constructed at the same time as an oil pipeline.



The effect of this sequence of construction is unknown. Not even as it affects the plans for the current gas pipeline, for example witnesses for Arctic Gas suggested that roads designated as temporary may be left in place if they would be required for subsequent looping. Such basic environmental questions as to whether or not looping is best undertaken immediately upon completion of the main construction while the various supporting infrastructures are in place, or whether one should wait a period of time and how long one should wait before re-attending, remain largely unanswered.

The environmental impact of looping was not studied by the applicants, and there is not sufficient evidence before the Inquiry to allow it to make any recommendations about the probable impact of looping the gas pipeline. The Inquiry should make a clear statement that it cannot evaluate a looped gas pipeline on the basis of evidence before it and that further studies, many of a very different nature, would be required before a proper environmental impact assessment could be made.

Our recommendation with respect to the question of looping, sir, is that any application for looping of the pipeline shall be treated as a completely new and separate pipeline proposal and be subject to a further Inquiry, including new research on the environmental and socio-economic impacts, further public hearings, and consultation and re-evaluation once the impact of the already constructed pipeline has been understood.



We're not suggesting, Mr. 1 Commissioner, an Inquiry necessarily of this type or of this duration; but certainly it must be treated as a separate issue and we must make it clear that Λ our discussions about impact and probable impact are 5 limited when we come to considering the impact of 6 subsequent development or continued development. 7 I now propose to turn to the 8 question of routing and it would be an appropriate time G to stop at that point. 10 MR. SCOTT: I think, sir, 7.7 given the discussion of looping and the activities of 12 tonight, it might be an appropriate place to break 13 until tomorrow. 1.4 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, when 15 shall we begin in the morning? 16 MR. SCOTT: Ten o'clock, sir? 17 THE COMMISSIONER: Oh, ten 18 o'clock. Yes, by all means. 19 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO NOVEMBER 18, 1976) 20 21 22 23 24 1 26 27 28

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## MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

IN THE MATTER OF THE APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

(a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A

RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and

(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.
November 18, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

Volume 203





## 1 APPEARANCES: Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C., Mr. Stephen T. Goudge, Mr. Alick Ryder, and Mr. Ian Roland. for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry: Mr. Pierre Genest, O.C., Mr. Jack Marshall, Mr. Darryl Carter, Mr. J.T. Steeves, and for Canadian Arctic Gas PipeMr. Gerry Ziskrout, line Limited; 6 Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C., Mr. Alan Hollingworth, Mr. John W. Lutes, and for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.: q Mr. Ian MacLachlan, Mr. Russell Anthony, 10 Prof. Alastair Lucas and for Canadian Arctic Resources Mr. Garth Evans 11 Committee: 12 Mr. Glen W. Bell and Mr. Gerry Sutton. for Northwest Territories 13 Indian Brotherhood. 14 15 Mr. John Bayly and Miss Lesley Lane, for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, 16 and The Committee for Original Peoples Entitle-17 ment; 18 Mr. Ron Veale and Mr. Allen Lueck, for The Council for the Yukon 19 Indians: 20 Mr. Carson Templeton, for Environment Protection Board: 21 Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C. 2.2 for Northwest Territories Chamber of Commerce: 23 Mr. Murray Sigler and for The Association of Munici-24 palities; Mr. David Reesor. 25 Mr. John Ballem, Q.C., for Producer Companies (Imperial) Shell & Gulf); 26 Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association 27 of the Northwest Territories. 28 347 M835 Vol. 203 CANADIAN ARCTIC

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902	Submission of Mr. Veale for Council of Yukon Indians	32175-A



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Yellowknife, N.W.T.

November 18, 1976.

## (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. SCOTT: Any time you're

ready, Mr. Anthony.

MR. ANTHONY: Mr. Commissioner, I have been asked to speak softly and I will do what I can to turn the pages as quietly as possible. I would like to continue our submission as found on page 30 of the material circulated to the participants, and the section I'd like to deal with will proceed on a consideration of routing within a general term, and some specific issues we would like to bring to your attention dealing with the whole question of routing.

It is undeniable that there are adverse environmental impacts of a gas pipeline that cannot be avoided or mitigated. No matter how skillfully the pipeline is constructed, it is still necessary to bring men and machinery into an area and to provide an infrastructure that will alter the environment. If a critical area is to be protected, the only way of completely avoiding environmental damage is by routing the pipeline away from the area. For that reason the question of route selection is one of the most fundamental and important issues before this Inquiry.

There are currently four separate pipeline routes before regulatory agencies to move Alaska natural gas to southern markets. Evidence at this Inquiry has also suggested an examination



be made of a route south of the Porcupine River, the now famous Calef route. In the Mackenzie Delta and Mackenzie River area there are two Arctic Gas alternatives, in addition the edge of the Shield and the east of the Franklin routes have been proposed as alternatives to a Mackenzie River Valley route.

Finally, there are minor variations between the Arctic Gas and Foothills routes in the Mackenzie River Valley itself. There are, therefore, alternatives to be considered. The optimum route must also be evaluated as a potential route for an oil pipeline and a highway because whether or not a deliberate corridor policy is adopted, it is likely that any subsequent oil pipeline or highway would follow the route established for the gas pipeline. In other words, the first major pipeline project will create a de facto corridor, and I'll address the question of corridor again.

The applicants have made

their cases on an assumption that a Mackenzie Valley

routing is the best choice possible. In the case of

Arctic Gas, the evidence shows that the prime factor

taken into consideration was the shortest distance

between Prudhoe Bay and the mid-continent markets that

would pick up Mackenzie Delta gas along the way.

The choice having been made, the efforts of the

applicants have been directed to proving ex post facto

that their proposed route is the preferred one. But

this conclusion cannot logically be drawn without an

examination of the alternatives. This examination has



not taken place. Only now is the Alaska Highway routing for Prudhoe Bay gas been considered, and studies on the social, economic and environmental impact are not being done in the same detail as those along the Mackenzie Valley route. Similarly, there have not been studies that would compare with Mackenzie Valley studies for a pipeline southwards around Hudson's Bay from the Arctic Islands.

Our general recommendations with respect to routing are as follows:

- (1) Alternative routing options should be properly examined both for Prudhoe Bay natural gas and Mackenzie Delta natural gas, including the possibility that a pipeline route from the Canadian High Arctic might be combined with a Mackenzie Delta pipeline as the preferred system for serving Canadian markets and needs.
- (2) Evaluation of alternative pipeline routes must be carried out within the context of possible corridor developments such as an oil pipeline and a highway.
- (3) Until the alternative pipeline routes have been properly evaluated, no proposed route should be approved for the grant of a right-of-way.

Now I'd like to turn to two specific elements to keep in mind, considering the general question of routing and I'd like to first turn to the question of the Arctic International Wildlife Range.

The strongest support for establishment of an Arctic International Wildlife Range

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Evidence by Dr. Bliss, Dr. Lent.

comes from the Arctic Gas Pipeline proponents. The mere fact that Arctic Gas recognizes the route around the Alaska portion of the range as an alternative, yet goes through the same ecological unit in Canada, an area that has not yet been established as a wildlife range, indicates that a range must be established to avoid incursion by industrial projects.

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Mr. Collins, Mr. Leonard, and Dr. Weedon has stressed the biological uniqueness of the proposed Arctic International Wildlife Range. The suggestion by the Arctic Gas witness, Dr. Banfield, that the area is not a unique one has been forcefully refuted, we submit, by the evidence of, in particular, Dr. Lent and Dr. Weedon, who commented directly on the uniqueness of the area. In addition, the earlier evidence Mr. Leonard, Mr. Collins and Dr. Thompson concerning the range presents overwhelming evidence on the uniqueness of the area. Subsequent evidence of Dr. Calef and Dr. Bergerud and Dr. Lent concerning the Porcupine caribou herd, its uniqueness and the importance of the range to its survival served further to emphasize the uniqueness of this area.

In addition to its uniqueness, the range is the only area with a possibility of official sanction and protection as a wilderness area.

The existence of the Arctic National Wildlife Range in Alaska provides a legal and psychological basis from which further protective measures are possible.

It is currently the only tundra area in the United States with protected status and the only area with



any reasonable possibility of wilderness designation by the U.S. Congress.

The potential for protection of the caribou herd exists because an area which has been declared a wilderness in the United States is exempt from this type of industrial activity. If a pipeline were to go through the Wildlife Range prior to its official designation as a wilderness area, it could no longer qualify under American legislation as a wilderness. Once this happens, the area would be open to a variety of threats including subsequent oil pipelines , permanent roads, test drilling and other related activities. Therefore, even if we Were to assume a gas pipeline would have little effect on the caribou or other flora and fauna of the area. the mere approval of a gas pipeline would take the area out of its wilderness status and jeopardize the survival of the area due to subsequent developments.

As a first major project
designed to cut across the range in both the United
States and Canada, the legal effect of its approval
would have far-reaching consequences.
Environmental associations of both Canada and the
United States, such as the Arctic International Wildlife
Range Society, the Canadian United States Environmental
Council, The Sierra Club, and the Wilderness Society,

have all officially taken the position that no pipeline

should violate the range area.

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The evidence of witnesses before this Inquiry in support of the range have made it clear that the creation of an energy corridor through the range is completely incompatible with the objectives of the range and regard the pipeline crossing of the range as a major and adverse impact on the area. The panel, made up of international members of the Range Society, clearly indicated their preference that there must be no pipeline through the range while admitting that if a pipeline must be built, they preferred one

It was emphatically stated that a hot oil pipeline is completely incompatible with the whole concept of the range and completely unacceptable. Similarly the concept of a permanent road through the range is intolerable.

route as compared to the other.

The intrusion of a pipeline upon an untouched area is irreversible and tragic, whatever steps are taken to mitigate its effects. The encouragement to other industrial development, particularly that related to petroluem development is bound to follow. As a matter of logic and economic sense, proximity to a pipeline is an encouragement to further develop and explore the area. The location of a gas pipeline, therefore, will encourage further exploration and development in the range forever destroying its wilderness value and any possibility of it being a protected area.

At the same time, the designation of a pipeline route is potentially the first step in



creation of an energy corridor. Canada must develop a policy similar to that for the State of Alaska, as expressed before this Inquiry, that living resources must be given priority over oil and gas development in those unique areas where the habitat of those living resources is identified as critical. Canada has an obligation internationally to preserve its unique areas and to ensure the survival of its living resources where other alternatives are available.

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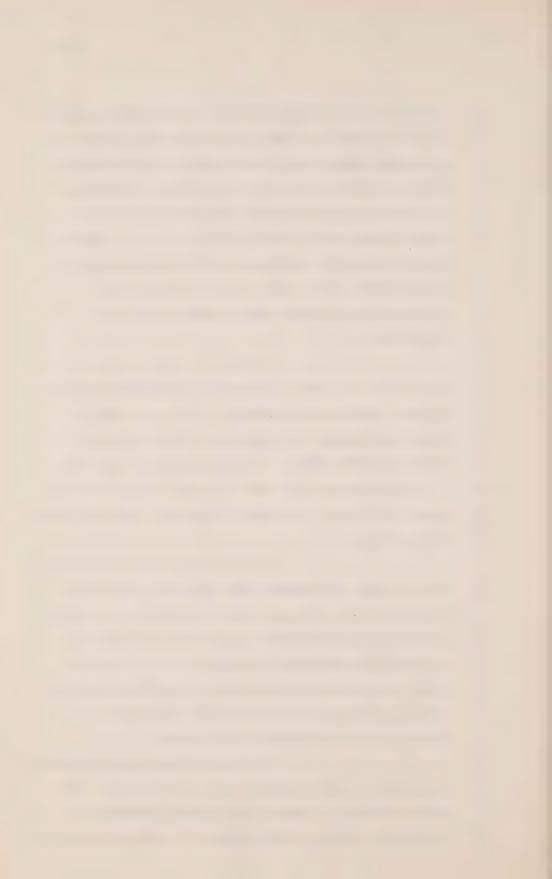
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If there is ever to be a wilderness or a park in Canada that includes the Yukon's unique, unglaciated ecosystem, it must be found somewhere between the west shore of the Mackenzie and the Alaska border. I pause perhaps to say that

a few abandoned oil cans in a few isolted DEW line sites don't alter this basic fact about the North Slope of the Yukon.

If Arctic Gas can, at this time, dare to make the argument that the area is already so late-- that it's too late, we might as well build a pipeline, then how much easier will it be for an oil pipeline contractor or anyone else in the years ahead to say, well, the area has already been used as a gas pipeline and really use the same argument over to exploit this part of the Yukon.

The longer Canada procrastinates in setting up its Canadian portion of the range, the more difficult it becomes for Alaskan officials to continue on with a sound program of conservation and to



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acquire the necessary funding from the American Congress for improved programs. Special status must be given to the range area in Canada similar to that provided for the range in Alaska so that along with the Americans there can be created one of the great national protected regions in the world.

is a happenstance in the middle of a total biological unit, especially for the caribou, wolves and other migratory animals demanding international cooperation.

The intangible values associated with the proposed Arctic International Wildlife Range must be weighed against the cost savings as a principle reason for selection of routes across the range.

Industrialization of the proposed range would overwhelm the wilderness character and ultimately and irrevocably destroy its unique naturalness. It would also have a profound effect upon the international responsibilities in management of the Porcupine caribou herd.

It was agreed that no further steps in the legal sense should be taken with respect to those lands proposed for the Canadian portion of the range pending the disposition of the native land claims. When seeking to establish priority within the area of native claims, the first priority would be assigned to the use of the Old Crow Band and the coastal Inuit. Outside of those areas the wildlife value should be given primary concern.

Uses which society as a whole makes of the proposed range will be determined by the



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management authority under such restrictions and regulations as are necessary to the wildlife population and to safeguard the traditional life of the native people. Native people will have a tremendous role to play in the management and conservation of their range area.

It appears that economic and engineering concerns ranked ahead of considerations of the environment in the selection of the Arctic Gas prime route which runs through the range along the coast. Certainly, Arctic Gas did not give the same consideration to the wilderness values of Canada that they apparently are prepared to do in the United States.

The fact that Arctic Gas was willing to divert its route around the Arctic wildlife range in Alaska as an alternative to its prime route, it was not prepared to provide the same consideration for the proposed range in Canada indicates that unless there is a legal obstacle such as the creation and establishment of an international range, development will proceed through the area.

panel and the Alaska witnesses indicated clearly that any routing which diverts pipelines away from the range is to be preferred. These same witnesses went on to say that if a pipeline were ordered to be constructed through the proposed Arctic international wildlife range, the coastal route would be preferred; despite this preference they held a strong conviction that there should be no pipeline across the North Slope of the Yukon.



And I have quoted there, sir, a lengthy extract from Dr. Weedon, who summarized and stated in very explicit terms the reasons for opposition against a route through the Arctic International Wildlife Range. He states in the concluding paragraph there:

"Construction, operation and maintenance of the proposed natural gas pipeline and subsequent industrial development in the Arctic National Wildlife Range would greatly reduce the value of the area for inclusion in a research natural area system, since much of the development would substantially modify existing natural conditions."

I just point that out to suggest

think there are very sound scientific and practical reasons for the protection and preservation of the range. Undoubtedly there are emotional aspects for this, and perhaps this is one of the issues where there is room for emotion. Perhaps we're lacking in that we don't consider some of these issues such as the protection of unique and valuable areas with a sense of emotion. But the emotional issue is not the total

issue and Dr. Weedon, I think, quite succinctly stated

reason for protection of a range area.

that there is a scientific and a very prectical scientific

that contrary to Mr. Marshall's characterization, I

The witnesses called on behalf of the Arctic International Wildlife Range unanimously recommended that consideration be given to routing along



the Fairbanks corridor, which has the great advantage of being mostly within a utility and highway corridor already heavily impacted by man and being away from the range area. The recommendations we make to you, sir, are outlined in the sections that follow.

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- (1) That the Canadian Government create and declare the Canadian portion of the Arctic International Wildlife Range as proposed by Arctic International Wildlife Range Society.
- (2) That the creation of an International Wildlife Range take place prior to the construction of any major facility within the area of the proposed range and in conjunction with settlement of the native land claims.
- (3) That the Can adian authorities work in co-operation and in conjunction with the American authorities to have the proposed range receive the highest form of protection under their respective laws. Canada should provide whatever assurances are required to have the American portion declared a wilderness area and arrange for a similar declaration of the Canadian portion.
- (4) That the area within the proposed range be protected and excluded from any pipelines or pipelinerelated activity, and in particular, that the range area be protected from the development of an energy corridor which might include a road or an oil pipeline.

  Given the current alternatives considered by Arctic Gas, this would mean a pipeline constructed along the Alaska Highway since both the prime and interior routes proposed by Arctic Gas would traverse the proposed range



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A similar philosophy, sir, addresses our consideration of the International Biological Program or the I.B.P. sites.

The main purpose of the International Biological Program was to study biological productivity of the earth's surface in relation to human welfare. This research soon made it clear that outdoor laboratories in which measurements of productivity are to be made require some sort of assurance that the outdoor laboratory will still -- is still going to be there to allow remeasurement in 5, 10, or 20 years as the need may arise. For this reason one section of the International Biological Program was called "Conservation of Terrestrial Communities" and has devoted its efforts to an inventory of areas suitable for preservation as long-term outdoor laboratories. Seven formal applications were prepared for ecological sites in the N.W.T. and Yukon in the summer of 1975. These were submitted to the government and submitted to this Inquiry, sir.

Proposed ecological reserves

can range from small single use areas for outright

preservation of some biological or ecological feature

to large multiple use areas that could be zoned and

managed to allow protection of biological features cor
current with industrial development in adjacent zones.

Included in the seven formal applications for

ecological reserves that have now been filed by the

I.B.P. panels are some sites that would be specifically



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designed to monitor the side effects of industrial development.

In the comments that introduced these final arguments by Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, it was asked where several years of study and public hearings have brought us. Whether or not a pipeline is approved, the hearing procedures that have taken place have repeatedly involved speculation about biological impact of the proposed development. Much of the biological information brought out at this Inquiry has been recycled from short duration studies in a few locations in the north. There are no outdoor laboratories from which we can draw reliable, long-term biological records to improve our predictive capabilities -- and there are no outdoor laboratories or monitoring areas that tell us what has actually happened in the post-construction phases of other proje cts such as hydro developments and road construction.

If a pipeline is approved for the Mackenzie Valley or Northern Yukon, it is imperative that a grant of right-of-way be preceded by a designation of lands that would perform the dual functions envisaged for the I.B.P. sites, namely the preservation of both representative and unique habitats and the establishment of areas that will be the permanent outdoor laboratories for future scientific studies.

It is important to stress that the scientists who have proposed I.B.P. sites in the north regard native people as part of the



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ecosystem. This will be compatible with the legal establishment of ecological sites. In some cases, however, it will be necessary to develop management restrictions in consultation with native people to ensure that the animal resources within the ecological sites are not over-harvested.

In relation to native land claims, co-chairman of the two northern I.B.P. panels have taken the position that regardless of who owns or controls the land, there are certain areas that deserve special protection and management. By protecting certain life systems characteristic of the Yukon and N.W.T., the proposed I.B.P. sites would not only be serving some areas for long-term study and education but would also be protecting the hunting and fishing resources of the native people.

Established ecological sites would require management plans and in some cases zoning. Most reserves would have some part that is zoned and managed for maximum preservation and other parts that would be meant for scientific study in a variety of monitoring measurements of disturbances. That is why it is not necessarily a contradiction to have things such as pipelines passing through some parts of some reserves.

And the recommendation, sir, flow out of those comments with respect to the creation of certain specified I.B.P. sites in advance of any pipeline route approval.



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I would now like to turn to a few comments with respect to corridors. The northern pipeline guidelines have placed the issue of the corridor development squarely before this Inquiry.

In the evidence this issue has been seen in two distinct contexts. One is whether a corridor concept should be recommended to the government, whereby a transportation corridor would be identified which would serve not only the proposed natural gas pipeline but also an oil pipeline, a highway and other possible developments such as a railway or high voltage transmission line.

The other is whether the establishment of a natural gas pipeline route creates a de facto corridor with a high likelihood that an oil pipeline and other developments will follow so that an assessment of the impacts of a particular route for a natural gas pipeline should also include an assessment of the suitability of the route for an oil pipeline and other developments. As to the first issue, CARC does not recommend an explicit corridor policy. Rather, subsequent developments must be examined for their particular merits, for the purpose of choosing the appropriate routing.

The studies commissioned by CARC led us to the conclusion that we could not establish empirically that environmental effects would be lessened by combining transportation facilities in a single corridor. We also agree with the testimony of Dr. Banfield that the cumulative effect could be "synergistic and multiplicative rather than simply



additive in total".

As for the second issue, the evidence establishes, in our view, that the route chosen for a natural gas pipeline is likely to be that followed by a subsequent oil pipeline and possibly by other transportation facilities. Therefore, the natural gas pipeline route creates a de facto corridor and its environmental impacts must be evaluated on this basis.

You, Mr. Commissioner, have on several occasions during this Inquiry made it clear to the applicants that they must provide evidence as to the environmental impact of an oil pipeline along the route proposed for the natural gas pipeline. This they have not done. Witnesses for Arctic Gas have admitted, in effect, that they have studied the impacts of a gas pipeline completely in isolation.

The result is that at the conclusion of this Inquiry the applicants have not shown what the total environmental impacts of building a natural gas pipeline or what they will be because they have not presented evidence on the suitability of their proposed routes for an oil pipeline and other facilities that in all likelihood will be established.

Therefore you, Mr. Commissioner, cannot report to the Minister that either of the applicants have made a case for the issue of rights-of-way over Crown land.

This is not merely a technical

objection.

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Numerous witnesses have stressed that the construction of an oil pipeline would create impacts of a significantly greater magnitude than those of a gas pipeline, both for the ecosystem as a whole, as well as specific elements such as fish or vegetation Despite the urgings of this Inquiry, the potential impact of a combination of an oil and gas pipeline has not been conducted. While it may be possible to make some predictions from the results of the gas pipeline studies, a great deal more study would be necessary and many options now regarded as acceptable would be intolerable, given the introduction of an oil pipeline.

To protect the integrity of an oil pipeline it will have to be constructed in its own right-of-way, the time and mode of construction would be different than a gas pipeline and it would require its own infrastructure of communication systems, maintenance staff and maintenance regime. It is entirely possible that the cumulative impact would exceed the adaptive tolerance of the environment and species living in the area of the combined disturbance.

Given that routing of a gas
pipeline is regarded as being more flexible than that
of an oil line, these concerns would apply even more
urgently to consideration of a corridor on the Yukon
North Slope. Many witnesses have testified as to the
problems of a gas pipeline on the North Slope. A further
and more urgent concern is that if a gas pipeline were
allowed along the Yukon North Slope, it would be



followed by an oil line.

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The Alaskan experience suggests that construction of a hot oil pipeline would require a permanent road for maintenance, a gravel pad for construction, a summer security patrol and very rapid repair requirements likely requiring stockpiles of pipe and equipment and increased activity during the critical spring and summer periods.

An elevated oil pipeline would threaten the migration patterns of the Porcupine caribou herd. The creation of the transportation corridor itself would stimulate other oil and gas development and create access from the Mackenzie Delta across the North Slope to Alaska through a previously undisturbed effects area. The combined of any or all of the potential activities of a transportation corridor would, in the view of CARC, result in environmental destruction of the Yukon North Slope and as such is totally unacceptable.

CARC also submits that an oil pipeline constitutes an extreme threat to the Mackenzie Delta and to the Mackenzie River itself. There has not been a thorough assessment of the impact of a major oil spill in the Mackenzie Delta; despite the fact that such a spill would be of a regional, national and global significance and must be regarded as a likely eventuality given the amount of oil related activity in the area. As for the Mackenzie River itself, building a lengthy pipeline almost entirely within one valley watershed places the entire river system in jeopardy.

An oil spill in the Arctic waters



would have far-reaching environmental and socio-economic impacts. Beaver and muskrat populations would be particularly vulnerable. It has been suggested that they even be eliminated in areas with a dense covering of oil. The introduction of an oil spill in the Mackenzie Delta, Oil Crow Flats, Ramparts River or other muskrat areas would be a major disaster. I'm thinking in terms here, sir, not only of the ecological disaster but of the impact on the people who rely on muskrat and beaver in particular.

The impact of an oil spill on polar bears, seals and whales is largely unknown.

Furthermore, the techniques and mitigative measures for dealing with oil spills are still in their infancy.

In summary, it is the proposed route across the North Slope of the Yukon that presents the gravest aspect of the oil pipeline issue. On few subjects has there been such unanimity in opposition to the construction of an oil pipeline as the construction of an oil pipeline across the Yukon North Slope. If there is the shadow of a concern that approving a gas pipeline route across the North Slope will encourage the later approval of an oil pipeline, then the approval of a gas pipeline should be withheld.

The recommendations, sir, are

## as follows:

Because an oil pipeline would involve different geotechnical and environmental questions than have been considered for proposed gas pipelines, it is recommended that this Inquiry advise the

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Government of Canada that a complete and separate inquiry, preceded by appropriate environmental and socio-economic studies, is required before consideration can be given to an oil pipeline in the Canadian North, bearing in mind that the considerations given to a gas pipeline by this Inquiry have limited application to an issue of an oil pipeline.

- 2) An explicit transportation corridor concept should not be recommended, but each new transportation facility should be examined on its particular merits for the purpose of choosing the appropriate routing.
- The choice of routing of a natural gas pipeline must be regarded as a designation of a de facto corridor with a high likelihood that an oil pipeline and other transportation facilities will subsequently be approved to follow this same general routing.

Therefore, the assessment of the environmental impact of the proposed natural gas pipeline will not be complete without an asssessment of the impacts of an oil pipeline along the same route. Such an assessment, not having been made, the granting of a right-of-way should not be recommended at this time.

4) In no event should a right-of-way for a natural gas pipeline be authorized for the North Slope of the Yukon because the granting of such a right-of-way may encourage the subsequent granting of



approval of an oil pipeline along the same route and such an oil pipeline represents unacceptable environmental hazards.

5) Further consideration should be given to the proposed Fairbanks route as a corridor for both gas and oil.



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like to address some more specific comments with respect to the Northern Yukon, and here I am referring to the Yukon Territory north of the Porcupine River, and I and others, I think, have been guilty often of discussing the North Slope when in fact we mean the area including both the prime and the interior routes, which would be the area that I am directing my attention to now and what I mean by the Yukon Territory being the territory north of the Porcupine

Mr. Commissioner. I'd now

The Yukon Territory north of the Porcupine River is a particularly significant part of Canada. The reasons the area has been proposed for the Arctic International Wildlife Range and various I.B.P. sites have been outlined in specific recommendations under those subject headings. But whatever the man-made designations, this area is regarded as a unique and highly significant area for a host of environmental reasons.

First, the area is the traditional home of the people of Old Crow, and undoubtedly other participants before this Inquiry will stress the significance of this fact. From the environmental perspective, the area is a fragile, yet uniquely beautiful part of the world. It is extraordinarily rich throughout the open water season. It contains caribou migration routes in spring and again in autumn. It is a moulting ground for many hundreds of whistling swans and thousands of Canada geese and



white-fronted geese. Many kinds of ducks, loons, and a number of shore birds, some extremely rare, find their nesting grounds along the Arctic coast. The whistling swans that nest along the coast constitute between one-third and one-half of the whole eastern flyway population of whistling swans in the world. There are some very fascinating and extremely valuable spits and offshore islands that are important because they provide protection for nesting birds. Over 100 bird species have been identified on the Yukon North Slope alone.

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With respect to terrestrial mammals, moose and beaver are distributed very widely throughout the entire area; grizzly bear, wolverine, marten, wolf and Dall sheep are predominant.

Concerns about constructing a gas pipeline along the north coast of the Yukon have centered around a wide range of environmental, geotechnical and engineering concerns. The potential for construction difficulties on the north coast is related to bad weather, a tight construction schedule, and the problems of access for repair; the ice-rich soil encountered on the North Slope, the rapid changes in river channel patterns, the unproven success of snow road construction, and the limited availability of water.

The greatest concern for the Northern Yukon relates to the potential that any pipeline route approved will now become part of a transportation corridor. Whether because the snow road



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construction does not prove adequate and permanent road access is required, or whether as a matter of policy an oil pipeline is to follow the gas pipeline routing, the result would, in the almost unanimous view of all, be the destruction of essential wildlife habitat in the Northern Yukon.

Concern over protection of
the fish resource has also centered around the Yukon
Territory north of the Porcupine River. Although the
fisheries on the Northern Yukon have been one of the
most intensively studied subjects, evidence was led that
further research from one to three years would be
required to completely understand the fish population
of the Northern Yukon, and great concern was
expressed as to the potential adverse impact on fish.

Identification of particular conc erns and recommendations pertaining to the Northern Yukon are identified elsewhere in this submission, in the sections dealing with caribou, furbearers, waterfowl, rare and endangered species, and fish.

Mr. Commissioner, that section some 125 pages of detailed recommendations, I refer to you as the documentation and the specific recommendations that go to these general issues that I am addressing today.

However, sir, I'd like to specifically concentrate on the Porcupine caribou herd and its importance with respect to the question of the Northern Yukon. Undoubtedly, a major concern about the Northern Yukon centers around the Porcupine

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caribou herd. Caribou experts talked about scientific aspects such as the migration patterns and life cycles of the caribou herds, whereas native people described caribou as part of the fabric of their lives and culture. What b oth scientists and natives did share, however, was concern about the ability of the caribou, especially the Porcupine herd, to withstand the pressures of proposed industrial developments.

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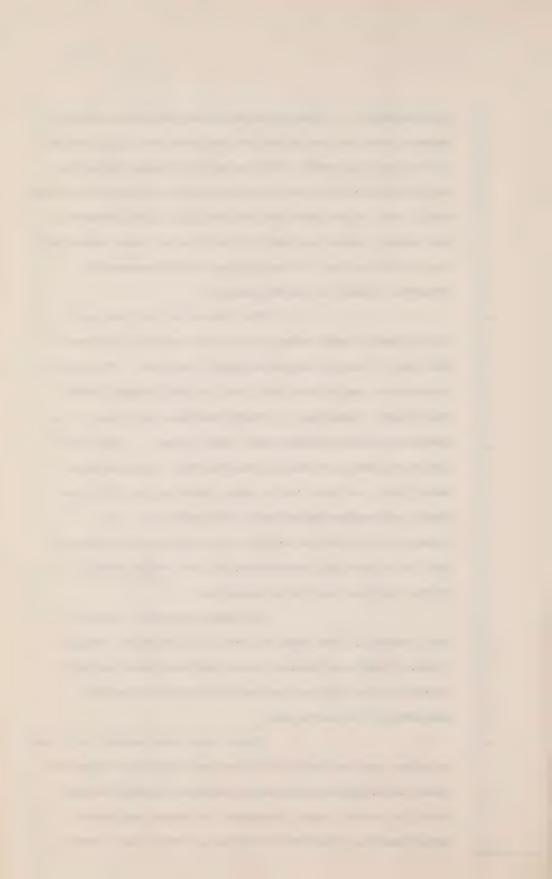
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which numbers approximately 100,000 animals, is one of the four largest herds in North America. This herd represents one of the last herding herbivores (other than sheep) remaining in North America, and one of the greatest wildlife spectacles left to man. The oldest direct evidence of man in the New World is a scraper made from a caribou thigh bone found in the Old Crow Flats and carbon-dated as 30,000 years old. It attests to the archaelogical significance of the herd and the historical dependence of the Indian people on the caribou herd as a resource.

Although migration routes vary somewhat from year to year, Indian-made caribou fences and old hunting camps indicate that caribou migration has followed a basic traditional pattern throughout the centuries.

There have been marked declines in other caribou herds in other parts of North America.

These occurrences have always been attributed to the onset of roads, power projects, railways and other developments, added to the natural cycles and events.



In Alaska today the 40-mile herd is a vestage of the herd which was at one time the largest west of the Mackenzie River, and larger than any existing in North America today. Yet its disappearance is in some ways inexplicable to scientists. The range of arguments presented to this Inquiry to explain the mystery are academic. In light of the history of the 40-mile herd, and the development planned to cross the Northern Yukon, the fate of the Porcupine herd falls under an ominous shadow.

I'd say, Mr. Commissioner, that the fact that Arctic Gas has for the second time at this Inquiry categorized the 40-mile herd as being alive and well and living in Alaska, casts an even more ominous shadow.

The reasons that we have recommended in the caribou section that a study be made of the 40-mile herd is to find out exactly what impacts have resulted in the very drastic decline in that herd. I would hope that at some future time we don't have someone coming to a later Inquiry or a later Government Commission and saying, "Well, don't worry about the Porcupine herd, all 500 of them are alive and well on 500 acres of the Alaska Wildlife Range."

Obviously we may have very different hopes as to the future of that herd. But I think that the 40-mile herd and a study of that herd is essential to an understanding of what type of impacts, what in a series of impacts may have been the



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I submit that that herd is hardly alive and well in the sense that I'm talking about when I'm referring to the concern over the Porcupine caribou herd.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well,

you have the problem with respect to northern species and populations of cyclical changes in population that apparently have occurred in the past and have nothing to do with industrial development and that, of course, makes the determination of cause and effect when declines occur in these populations very difficult indeed. We heard evidence just a month ago about the decline in the population of the Western Arctic herd on the North Slope of Alaska, 250,000 animals five years ago, have now been censused at 50,000.

The decline has occurred concurrently with oil and gas exploration on the North Slope and the building of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline. But biologists are not able to say whether there is cause and effect relationship. Infact they don't know. That's the -- I suppose it's an argument that cuts both ways in the sense that it counsels prudence in determining whether to proceed with industrial development. At the same time, as in the case of the 40-mile herd, and other herds that have declined, it isn't all that simple to say that the cause was industrial development.

That's the great difficulty

in these things.

MR. ANTHONY: I appreciate that



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Mr. Commissioner, and my own comments would be two.

First, I suggest the evidence indicates that there are fluctuations in caribou herds, not necessarily cyclical ones, whereas I don't think the evidence suggests there is a pattern of them going up and down in any particular cycle. But certainly there are fluctuations.

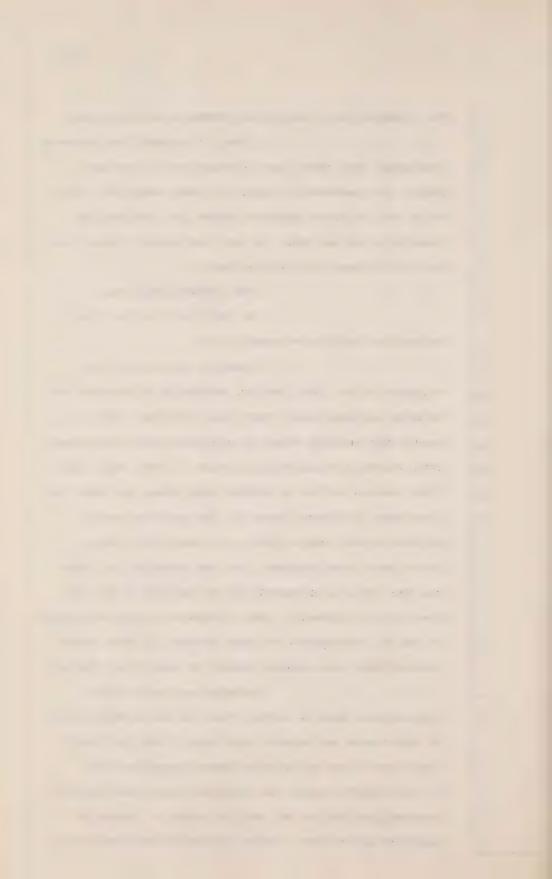
THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

MR. ANTHONY: You're right

to caution us when we examine it.

However, you recall the evidence of Dr. Lent and Dr. Weedon in discussing the 40-mile caribou herd. They made it clear that it wasn't the initial onset of any particular development that suddenly resulted in a crash of that herd, that there were a series of events over time, and when the first one, a highway came in, the caribou would migrate across the highway, and then there was a period when they stopped, and the question is: What was the critical element? Can we isolate in any way the critical element? Was it because of the migration, or was it independent of that because of some interference with the calving ground or some other factor?

Because we now in that circumstance have a history that we can examine, that is the reason we request that study, and you recall that Arctic Gas in their evidence suggested that Dr. Bergerud's study had indicated there was certain adaptability and so on, and yet when Dr. Bergerud appeared before the Inquiry, he indicated that there



are -- there is no hard fast line that you can draw but that you can learn from experience on other caribou herds, and that an assessment of what were the critical factors or what were the critical times, I would suggest, would be very helpful and very important as we attempt to grapple with this very difficult problem that you have indicated.



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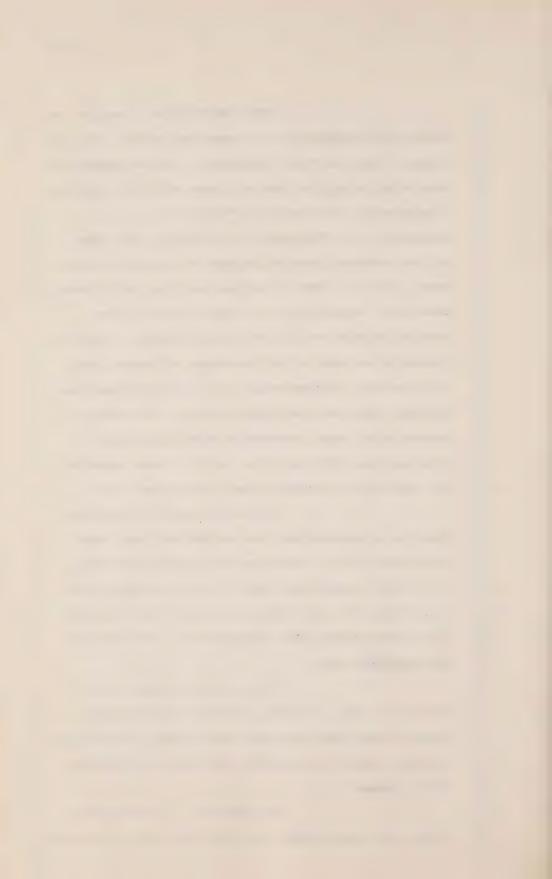
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THE COMMISSIONER: Once you get beyond the determination of cause and effect, you, of course, face the value judgment. Let us suppose you were able to say, to predict there would be a decline, a substantial decline over time of the population of a Porcupine River herd if you opened up the northern Yukon wilderness to pipeline development. Then you have to decide, and this is ultimately something, assuming you are right in making the prediction that you do, this is ultimately a choice of values to be made by the Government of Canada, and the question for them would be: Is it more important to bring the gas from Prudhoe Bay and thus achieve economies of scale, connection with delivery of Canadian gas from the delta; or is it more important to preserve the wilderness and the caribou herd?

You would argue, as you have, that the wilderness and the caribou herd must come first but I think Arctic Gas did suggest yesterday or the day before that even if the herd were reduced to a relic, it could then be nurtured over time back to the population level comparable to that which it has achieved today.

Well, I'm not asking you to comment on that. You see, assuming you are right in terms of the prediction you seek to make, there's still a value judgment to be made after that, a very basic value judgment.

MR. ANTHONY: I think you're right, Mr. Commissioner, and the thing that I am urging



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on you and to those who must make these very difficult decisions is that you consider the Yukon North Slope, the importance of the herd and the uniqueness of the area when coming to this balance and I'd suggest that while there may be alternatives to Arctic Gas, there may not be alternatives to the people of Old Crow and to the Porcupine caribou herd and to the question of the Arctic International Wildlife Range.

I assume that perhaps we have to decide as Dr. Thompson indicated yesterday whether it's important to have gas in southern Canada at \$3.00 or \$3.50, but that is an alternative that's available and there are alternatives available we've urged to Arctic Gas, and there are alternatives available to the people of southern Canada. There may not be alternatives, and we are saying there are not alternatives on the Yukon North Slope. If the range is destroyed it is destroyed.

If there becomes a transportation corridor across the north of Canada from the Mackenzie Delta to Alaska, then that is a transportation corridor and that area will be destroyed for the purposes we've indicated, and I'd suggest the importance of the herd and the fact that there are no alternatives in that extent, perhaps should be considered in this judgment that you are rightfully suggesting must be made.

If I may address a few more particular comments with respect to the Porcupine caribou herd. The Porcupine caribou herd calves on the coastal plain and foothills area of the Northern Yukon



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and Alaska. Biologists appearing before this Inquiry--THE COMMISSIONER: I see foothills is spelled with a capital "F".

MR. ANTHONY: Yes, Mr. Hollingworth has seen my copy obviously. Obviously Foothills are in friends of the caribou throughout this Inquiry.

Biologists appearing before this Inquiry agree that this calving period is the most critical and sensitive time in the caribou life cycle, and along with the period of the post calving aggregation, is the time when particular care must be taken to protect the herd. In recognition of the threat to the caribou herd Arctic Gas have presented a series of mitigative measures; they have unequivocally promised that no road would be built along the North Slope and they've indicated a number of other protective measures which I outlined here, sir.

Concern, however, has been expressed with respect to all of these undertakings and the recommendations relating to these concerns are outlined and detailed in the section dealing with caribou. This Inquiry has heard numerous witnesses express concerns relating to the caribou along the proposed coastal route and north of the British These are covered later, as I say, in the specific submissions with recommendations dealing with each of these particular concerns.

Some of the main concerns with respect to the coastal route I would like to highlight and they are as follows:



a) Uncertain effect of snow fences on the herd.

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- the route traverses the calving area-that the route traverses the calving area that is critical to the herd and it's one of the most restricted areas used by caribou. The calving period of the caribou is the most sensitive and critical time for the herd. The impacts of any disturbance during this period create great stress on the herd.
- c) There will be compressor stations with turbine engines within the calving grounds. Their construction will take place in summer during the calving period and the noise will create constant disturbance.
- d) The post-calving aggregation occurs on the coast where there will be some summer activity. During this aggregation, the entire population of caribou assembles in dense concentrations in one group. This event takes place in an even more restricted area and more consistent area from year to year than does calving.
- e) Some caribou do not go south in winter but remain on the coast.
- f) The coastal area is significant to caribou, not only for calving, but as an area where the impact of the mosquitoes and other pests is minimized for at least a few weeks.
- g) The summer period when caribou are on the coast is a more stressful time for the animals since they are bothered by mosquitoes, warble flies and



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botflies	s, and	their	energy	demand	ls fo	r the	antle
growth,	moulti	ng and	nursir	ng are	at a	maxir	num
for the	year.						

- h) There is evidence to show that the greatest amount of calf mortality occurs during the short summer period on the coast. Harassment by aircraft or other activities can cause stampedes which result in separation of calves from their mothers.

  Such calves are susceptible to wind chill mortality and predation.
- i) Migrating animals would be in the vicinity of the pipeline on the coastal route for as much as two months.
- j) The erosion and flooding problems in later spring along the coastal route would necessitate surveillance flights and repair operations increasing contacts with the caribou.
- k) Fog is more frequent along the coast and will cause helicopters to fly at low levels which would harass the caribou during calving.

That's the sort of problem, sir, that the greatest of intentions cannot resolve.

The calving grounds may be key real estate in the adaptive race between escape and predation in the wolf-caribou interaction. At calving time caribou are more vulnerable to predation than at any other time.

This points to the problem that Dr. Bergerud spoke about, about the mere access, just a mere cutting of the right-of-way.



- m) In the likely event of an elevated oil pipeline, large groups of the magnitude found along the coast are less likely to travel over or under a barrier.
- n) There is a hypothesis that the caribou are attracted to the coastal area because of the vegetation there.

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I only make one further comment, sir, that you'll note that many of these concerns expressed at this Inquiry do not, as Mr. Marshall characterized, relate merely to a transportation corridor. There are many concerns with respect to the Porcupine herd related directly to the question of a gas pipeline.

It is because of these concerns and because of the fact that a great number of people, both layman and biologists, are not satisfied that these concerns can be met that grave doubts have been expressed about any form of construction in the northern Yukon. Fear has been expressed for the safety and even survival of most of the major species encountered in the northern Yukon and, in particular, the Porcupine caribou herd.

The Canadian Arctic Resources

Committee wishes to stress that argument between the

coastal route and the interior route in the northern

Yukon does not come to grips with the real issue.

Dr. Gunn, in his evidence on behalf of Arctic Gas,

stated that the interior route is to be preferred to the

coastal route; and in his evidence, Mr. Jackimchuk, on



behalf of Arctic Gas, stated that the coastal route is to be preferred to the interior route.

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Even if one looks at the major species of concern, the caribou, there is conflicting expert evidence. The biologists consulting to Arctic Gas stated that the coastal route was preferred, while other biologists, Dr. McTaggart-Cowan, Dr. Calef, Dr. Bergerud, Dr. Lent, and Dr. Geist have all stated concern over the survival of the Porcupine herd if the coastal route is used.

In this context, sir, I would point out that we have the same criticism in the assessment of the north route that was expressed vesterday by COPE, and that is that the comments in the final argument by Arctic Gas have been based almost entirely on Mr. Jackimchuk's evidence before this Inquiry, and they have in the consideration of the impact of the proposed Arctic Gas route on caribou ignored, in fact dismissed, the evidence of the other experts who I've outlined there, as saying their concern is basically about the transportation corridor; and certainly they express concern about a transportation corridor but each of these gentlemen also addressed their minds to the question of a gas pipeline route. I would suggest that in considering the Arctic Gas evidence and in considering the conclusions that they've urged upon you, it is significant to note that they are based almost entirely on Mr. Jackimchuk's evidence and have not come to grips with the evidence of the other caribou witnesses on this question of impact of the



gas pipeline on the Porcupine herd.

The only conclusion to be drawn is that there is no pipeline route on the Yukon north of the Porcupine River that can be constructed in an environmentally acceptable manner. Given the fact that the gas pipeline might be followed by an elevated hot oil pipeline and an access road, the overwhelming evidence is that there should be no pipeline constructed on the Yukon north of the Porcupine River.

That, sir, is the substance of our recommendations in dealing with the question of the Yukon North Slope. In addition to the recommendations I have there, sir, I refer you to the recommendation under the caribou section found at page S6 which states that if we are forced to consider a pipeline routing in the northern half of the Yukon, that we consider the routing south of the Porcupine River in what has been called the Calef route.

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to the --

I would now like to turn

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.

but Arctic Gas says that it wants to cross the Northern Yukon either along the coast or through the interior. has carried out extensive engineering and environmental studies of both routes. It hasn't carried out any engineering or environmental studies of the Calef Now, although this Inquiry may be in a position to indicate to the government whether a pipeline across the Northern Yukon if one is to go across the Northern Yukon should go along the coast or through the interior, the Inquiry isn't in a position to do anything more with respect to the Calef route than to say that it should be examined. The Inquiry is in that position, I think, is it not?

MR. ANTHONY: Yes. Mr.

Commissioner, and I think we have consistently urged that consideration of these alternatives, consideration of the Calef route which has suddenly become respectable through the terms of this Inquiry, we have consideration of the Fairbanks alternative. We are not recommending that, we're not suggesting to this Inquiry that we recommend that a pipeline follow either of those routes. We are requesting this Inquiry to point out the very dangerous situation that exists if a pipeline were to be approved across the North Slope and to point out to the government that there are alternatives that must be examined, and suggest to the government that the time exists and the



ability exists to examine these alternatives, and that the consequences of not examining those alternatives to go ahead are very severe. It is the request for this further study that we urge most strongly on vou, sir, with respect to alternate routes.

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THE COMMISSIONER: Well, the problem Arctic Gas faces is that the United States has passed and the Congress has passed and the President has signed a Statute that provides for a decision-making timetable that the Americans certainly want to meet. I have made it clear from the beginning that this Inquiry would not be conducted in haste in order to meet the timetable that might be established by the Americans; but at the same time here we are on the last day or the second-last day of the Inquiry and you are urging that Arctic Gas be called upon to examine an alternate route that it seems to me unlikely they could examine adequately from an engineering and an environmental point of view in time to meet the requirements laid down by the Americans, requirements that are only significant so far as Arctic Gas is concerned. They are not requirements that Foothills has to meet because, of course, their pipeline is an all-Canadian pipeline.

But I can see that from the point of view of Arctic Gas that is in many ways an unsatisfactory outcry. Presumably they would prefer to have a "yes" or a "no" and so would the Americans, rather than, "Why don't you take a look at still another route?"



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Well, anyway, why don't we

stop for coffee?

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

MR. ANTHONY: Mr. Commissioner,

I'd now like to address a few comments with respect to the Arctic Gas cross-delta route alternative.

The proposed pipeline route of the applicant, Canadian Arctic Gas, was amended to include a lateral across the Mackenzie Delta. While arguing that it is a more secure system in the sense that it has less miles of pipe, Arctic Gas agreed that the route would save approximately \$100 million and that it was proposed because of its economic attractiveness. It was also conceded that the original circum-delta route was selected because it was deemed that the Mackenzie Delta was initially a particularly sensitive area. Evidence presented at the delta phase of the Inquiry suggests that indeed the Mackenzie Delta is a unique and sensitive environment and it is CARC's view that the economic savings to the applicant must be viewed as subordinate to the preservation and protection of the Mackenzie Delta.

The amount and nature of research conducted in the Mackenzie Delta region,
particularly in the Shallow Bay area, is inadequate
for a complete geotechnical or environmental assessment.
Problems of ice jams, ice scour, the nature and frost
susceptibility of soil along the Shallow Bay crossing



frost heave, are largely unresolved as they relate to the delta

It must be remembered that the Mackenzie Delta region is subject to the cumulative effects of not only pipeline construction, but the area is also a staging and supply area, is affected by Beaufort Sea drilling and other hydro-carbon exploration and will be the centre of the gas-gathering and processing facilities. Add to this the possibility that a pipeline may be looped and these cumulative impacts could result in a lengthy period of activity within the critical areas of the Mackenzie Delta region.

There are also significant environmental reasons for opposing the cross-delta route across Shallow Bay. Shallow Bay is literally teeming with fish for five months from July to November, and the Shallow Bay crossing will require summer dredging. Although CAGPL has stated it will shut down operations during the time that the beluga whales come into the delta to calve, concern has been expressed that such disruptions and noise could cause depletions in the new-born populations. Fuel spills or oil spills containment would be much more difficult if the cross-delta route is built. efforts to de-oil birds have proven unsuccessful in other areas, there is a great threat to the populations of snow geese and other waterfowl which use this area during a critical period of their life cycle. Also, any pipeline activity along the Yukon coastal route

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may result in waterfowl, particularly snow geese, moving into the vicinity of the cross-delta route thus compounding the environmental impact.

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I think, sir, in evaluating the question of the Mackenzie Delta in particular it is important to keep in mind the inter-relationship between the Yukon North Slope and the Mackenzie Delta, and also to keep in mind the critical question of timing. You will recall that during the delta phase of the Inquiry Mr. Williams on behalf of Arctic Gas was asked about the construction time required for Shallow Bay and the problem that he expressed about the requests of Mr. Webb that the construction schedule may require to be pushed back because of the beluga calving in the spring, and the request of Dr. Gunn that in fact the construction schedule be pushed forward or curtailed earlier because of the concern over snow geese.

We have in final argument from Arctic Gas, they have really ignored that conflict. They have submitted that there's no problem with respect to the whales and they cite Mr. Webb, and Mr. Webb said there's no problem provided in critical times the construction schedule can be delayed to allow the calving to take place. On the other hand you have them saying, "It's O.K. with respect to the birds because Dr. Gunn said that we'll be finished by the time it's critical for the birds in the delta," yet ignoring the fact that he made those comments, considering that the construction schedule not be



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use planning.

Many witnesses for this

extended and so we have taken the best of both worlds in the final argument, ignoring the critical element of timing and the relationship between these two best worlds.

The potential environmental

impact of the cross-delta route alternative is not completely known, in our view, but on a basis of the evidence to date it is the submission of CARC that the pipeline should not be constructed across the Mackenzie Delta. That, sir, is our recommendation, The proposed cross-delta alternative should be rejected because of the need to preserve the whale, waterfowl habitats of the Mackenzie Delta which will already be heavily impacted by pipeline-related and other hydro-carbon exploration activity. Immediate steps be taken to have the outer Mackenzie Delta area set aside as a whale sanctuary, to secure the protection of the reindeer population of the delta, and to ensure that the existing sanctuary

Sir, I refer you in particular to the sections in our submission with specific recommendations under the heading of "Marine Mammals", page S-43 to 51, "Birds of the Mackenzie Delta," page S-56, "Waterfowl", page S-62 to 72, and a large section dealing with "Fish", page S-81 to S-115. I'd like to now address some

for waterfowl is preserved and protected.

general comments with respect to the issue of land

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Inquiry have expressed the need for long-range land use planning in the Canadian north. The proper land use plan must first determine the biological productivity of an area, and the requirements necessary to maintain and ensure the continuance of that productivity. It must not only permit a society to determine whether and where certain developments must take place, but it must also permit that society to determine the pace of development, both for the benefit of the biological community and society itself.

Such a plan must deal with the conflicting claims on the land for such purposes as native hunting, fishing and trapping, Mational and Territorial Parks, Wildlife Refuges, ecological reserves, energy and transportation corridors, and mining and hydro-electric development.

plan can only be developed through northern-based research because research results from the south cannot simply be translated to the north. Even in the south it has taken 75 years to learn how to restock salmon, and a similar lead time can be assumed to be necessary to properly understand the intricacies of the northern fishery resource. Many of the environmental witnesses emphasized the need for an overall program for the protection of the fish resource as the only real way to ensure environmental protection. The same imperative applies towards protection of the caribou, waterfowl, and various other species.



is prepared well in advance of any major development,
critical habitat could be ursurped by the development
project with the result that any program would be
prohibitively expensive, if possible at all. A land
use plan must be dynamic because there will be a
continuing need to modify the plan as new knowledge
becomes available and as new uses become defined

Therefore the planning process is as important as the

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One important element in the development of a land use plan is identification of special areas. Areas of particular significance in the Canadian Western Arctic have been identified by CARC in the sections under the Arctic International Wildlife Range, the I.B.P. sites and the various sections dealing with specific species where critical or essential habitats have been isolated. Having identified these critical areas, whether critical habit, areas for rare and endangered species, potential recreation or park sites, archaeological sites, or areas of unique or scenic value, the next step is to build them into the land use plan.

The wilderness concept itself is also an important element of such planning. The need to protect wilderness areas and the wilderness values must perhaps be spoken to in emotional terms as well as ecological terms. As environmentalists and as Canadians we have a responsibility to ensure that there are some areas of our nation that remain as wilderness. Not only is it important to ensure



that there remains an unspoiled ecological unit to preserve and protect a way of life that has developed over thousands of years, but it is important as a concept within the Canadian heritage.

Canadians have viewed their country as evolving out of a vast wilderness, yet we are fast approaching the last chance for authentic wilderness areas. Most discussions relating to the protection of a wilderness invariably centre around the Yukon north of the Porcupine River. Because of the proposed Wildlife Range, the unique ecological components of the area, and the fact that the area is largely undisturbed, it becomes a prime candidate for designation as a wilderness area.

That, sir, is one of the recommendations we urge upon you.

Both applicants argued that present wilderness areas, which they define as meaning untouched, unspoiled, or untrod upon areas, should be protected and disturbance of these areas should be minimized. The applicants should be required to provide more specific information on the impact of a project created merely by increased access. The challenge is to ensure that the frontier and wilderness peritage is not lost sight of in the examination of detailed environmental impact.

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me, Mr. Anthony, how would that help us? You say the two companies should be required to provide more specific information on the impact of their project created



witnesses who said that access by man is likely to create greater impact than the construction of a gas pipeline, or even an oil pipeline; but aren't we asking these companies to do something that lies quite beyond their competence? Isn't it a matter of judgment, taking all these matters into account and trying to foresee as best one can what will happen? What use would it be to have these two companies go out and hire more consultants and present us with another ton and a half of paper that with respect to you and with respect to the companies, would not get us any farther than our own capacity to foresee events in the light of all the evidence we've heard?

That, it seems to me there's a limit to what you can do in the realm of predicting cumulative impact. That's the problem, and we simply have to try to foresee what the course of events may be and to predict the impact that will accompany those events.

I think we have gotten all
the assistance that we can reasonably expect from
Arctic Gas and Foothills, and I really don't think it
lies within their capacity or within the capacity of
anybody that they might hire to assist us further. I
maybe wrong in that, but I can't imagine that there
is any expert who is going to be able to tell us
what the impact of increased access will be in a way
that will take us beyond what our own capacities enable
us to predict in that regard, as the evidence stands now.



MR. ANTHONY: Well, Mr.

Commissioner, I agree that the question of access, whether it should take place or should not, is a matter of government policy, and you will note in our recommendation No. 5 we suggest that the question be a matter of government policy to determine what access should be permitted and so on.

THE COMMISSIONER: What you're saying is once you open the wilderness up to a gas pipeline, you are in a sense determining the question of access for all time.



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Well, we're suggesting that the information we need to know is really not only what the pipeline companies will do, but what effect it will have on access. Now, there is maybe disagreement as to whether that access is good or bad and we suggest that's a question for the government to decide. What I am suggesting is that we still don't have very much evidence to tell us what will happen when the supply road from the Dempster to the interior route, for example, if that is left in place or if it's replaced; and if it's taken out, how long should it remain there and what will be the effect merely of that road.

Dealing with the question of access, by just allowing people to come in.

What is the anticipated impact? Is that going to result in increased hunting and is it going to result in travel up from the south and so on? That's the sort of information that I suggest is important to know.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, that is something that they're not in a position to tell us anything worthwhile about, it seems to me. That's a matter, with respect, to which we have to make up our own minds.

MR. ANTHONY: I agree with that element, sir. I still suggest though that the question of access itself irrespective of the particular problem or the particular job that they propose to do is an important impact of the pipeline and I agree that—

THE COMMISSIONER: Oh, yes.



MR. ANTHONY: --it's up to this Inquiry to assess what the impact will be and whether it's a good impact or a bad impact. I'm suggesting that from the information presented in our view there still isn't sufficient attention directed to just the

question of impact in the information that's been presented.

We suggest that that is a gap in the evidence that was presented, in our view; that there hasn't been sufficient attention placed on merely their view as to what the impact will be.

In many respects, Mr.

Commissioner, this Inquiry can be regarded as the initiation of a planning process for the Mackenzie River Valley and the delta though we suggest that it is starting from the wrong perspective. Ideally, planning should start with a clean slate, whereas this Inquiry is forced to begin from the restricted viewpoint of where to build a gas pipeline.

In fact, the route selection for a gas pipeline, with its implications of a de facto transportation corridor, is of fundamental importance for the planning of the region. Just as selecting the pipeline route destroys freedoms and options for a land claim settlement, so does it take away land use options. Ideally, the selection of a route for a gas pipeline should proceed only after a long range plan has been developed and only in accordance with that plan.



you, sir, are as follows:

- 1) That any further consideration of the routing of a pipeline or of any other major transportation facility, should be postponed until appropriate land use planning procedures have been established for the Yukon and Northwest Territories and long range land use plans have evolved. Elements of include that plan would/an inventory identifying special areas and appropriate legislation design to ensure their protection.
- All that area north of the Porcupine River in the northern Yukon should be declared a wildnerness area and appropriate legislation should be passed by the Government of Canada to provide for and declare a wilderness status for that area.
- One of the responsibilities of the pipeline
  authority would be to control the use or further
  construction of access roads following construction
  of the pipeline. This task should be undertaken
  by the Government of Canada since the question of
  access and opening up of specified areas should be
  a matter of public policy and not an issue to be
  left to the pipeline companies.
- 6) Access into an area and development of recreational potential of the area should be postponed a few years after completion of construction. This would decrease the cumulative impact on the environment and would allow new administrative techniques, advisory and supervisory techniques to be employed and a larger research base to ensure



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a more integrated and effective control over impact.

Mr. Commissioner, the Canadian Arctic Resources also directed evidence to this Inquiry on the question of implementation and authority and that's found on page 56 and I intend to just read a few sections of that, since that is quite recent evidence.

environmental stipulations will be attained only if requirements are viewed from the beginning as an integral part of the construction scheduling operations rather than on something imposed from outside.

Therefore, it is not sufficient to write these stipulations into the terms of right-of-way agreements, certificate of public convenience and necessity, land use permits, water licenses, or regulations such as the Territorial Land Use Regulations or the Gas Pipeline Regulations.

end with the prescribing of environmental do's and don'ts since contractors must not be permitted to independently determine the degree to which they and their sub-contractors will ensure full compliance and the extent to which operating crews will be trained and mandated to carry out environmental protection procedures.

We have also suggested, sir, that the existing administrative machinery in the Territories is both inadequate and inappropriate to properly super-



vise construction of the proposed pipeline and ensure compliance with environmental stipulations.

It is, therefore, recommended that responsibility for all relevant regulatory functions be assigned to a totally independent single authority and that the pipeline-related powers of all federal and territorial departments and agencies be delegated to it. This authority should be assisted by a third party contractor who would assist in a design review process and follow-up. Such system would result in the most efficient implementation of all the environmental stipulations identified by this Inquiry, the National Energy Board and other contributing agencies.

The only other point I would bring to your specific attention, sir, is the recommendation number 13 dealing with the implementation authority which recommends the creation of an ombudsman and you heard the evidence of the CARC panel on the operation of that.

In summary, Mr. Commissioner, and I'll try to be brief, we suggest to you that on the basis of all of the evidence you've received at this Inquiry over the length of this Inquiry, that upon a review of all the evidence you cannot report to the Canadian government that a pipeline can be built now. It may be contrary to the American timetable, as you've indicated, Mr. Commissioner, but the Americans do have alternatives and the Americans have settled their land claims; and in any event, the environmental implications



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are most direct in the Canadian portion of the route.

I submit, sir, that the challenge to this Inquiry and to the challenge to the Government of Canada is that they consider the Canadian interest and they establish a Canadian timetable, and in that timetable perhaps, in our view we submit, the Arctic Gas proposal cannot proceed in the timeframe that they have established.

In closing, I'd just like to make two personal comments, if I may. First I'd like to pay a personal tribute to Dr. Doug Pimlott who was the first chairman of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee and the Director of the Northern Assessment Group. Dr. Pimlott has continually given his all to this Inquiry through his tireless efforts to assist CARC and COPE and the other participants in meeting the challenges that you have placed on us in participating in this Inquiry.

You've all relied on him and he's never let us down. We appreciate his help and his counsel. I know he would desperately want to be here today. We can report that Dr. Pimlott is making a satisfactory and as he has taught us so often over the last two years, a very spirited recovery and he sends to you, sir, his personal greetings.

I did want to close, sir, by directing a few personal comments to you. I found this a very difficult thing to do. Our appreciation for your fairness and your understanding have been eloquently expressed by others in words and brownies and in books, and we echo these sentiments, but I also



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But I think what they are requesting is that the elements of fairness and openness that you have brought to this Irquiry.

have a particular tribute to pay to you, sir, and to this Inquiry.

This Inquiry is unique in many ways, but the opportunity that it has provided for the people to participate may be the legacy that will mean the most. You've invited, but what is more sir, you have nurtured public participation through community hearings, through C. B. C. broadcasting, through funding of public organizations such as our own.

We have responded, I hope, to your challenge in a way that has been both responsible and productive. Sir, this Inquiry has succeeded. It has tackled many of the most difficult questions facing Canada today. How we respond to these challenges will, as you have pointed out to us, tell us a great deal about ourselves as Canadians.

The fact that this Inquiry with this extensive public involvement has succeeded provided a precedent. If we can deal with these far-reaching issues in the Mackenzie, surely we can accommodate informed public discussion affecting various other areas of our lives. I note with interest the cry for a Berger-type Inquiry in Ontario and they're looking at the Reed Paper crisis and in British Columbia they look at the Kitimat pipeline, and don't panic, sir, I don't think they necessarily mean that you should chair it.



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When Canadian Arctic Resources Committee appeared before you at the opening of this Inquiry, we asked you to open a window on the North. You have done this and what is more you have given us the eyes to look through the window to see the real issues facing Canada.

For this, sir, the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee and the Northern Assessment Group and all those associated with it thank you and wish you well in your deliberations leading to final design. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Anthony. Ladies and gentlemen, it's 12:00 and I have a note that the class picture is to be taken now. I take it that is in front of the hotel, is it? Indoors. Well, Mr. Scott, is it all right if we have the class picture taken now and then we could adjourn until say 1:00 which would give us time, would it not, to hear all of the three native organizations that still remain to be heard?

MR. SCOTT: I would hope so, sir.

About the class picture, perhaps we should ask if Mr.

Genest is ready. I don't know whether--

MR. GENEST: I need sunglasses. I don't know if Mr. Scott reported to you that the reason that I was late this morning is recause of my noble efforts last night to settle this whole matter without involving your Lordship further, as we say in Court, but I was not successful.



MR. SCOTT: Could we adjourn
until two o'clock, sir? There's some other matters.

THE COMMISSIONER: Before we
adjourn, where is this class picture to be taken?

MR. SCOTT: I don't know.

THE COMMISSIONER: Pat Scott,

you better tell us what happens next. All right, do
you want me to sit here? All right. Let's just sit
here and think about the events of last evening.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2:00 P.M.)



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## (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,:
the next submission will be made by Mr. Veale,
counsel for the Council of Yukon Indians.

just before beginning, I have a copy of a letter to yourself from Daniel Johnson, the chairman of the Council for Yukon Indians simply stating the fact that the evidence presented by Mr. Elijah Smith of the C.Y.I. several months ago is no longer the position of the council, and I file that as an exhibit.

THE COMMISSIONER: All right,

MR. VEALE: Mr. Commissioner.

that will be marked as an exhibit.

(LETTER FROM D. JOHNSON MARKED EXHIBIT 901)

MR. VEALE: Mr. Commissioner, you have asked that we provide comment on the nature and the extent of the land claims of the Council for Yukon Indians and the people of Old Crow, and I will begin with the Council for Yukon Indians land claims principle.

This particular piece was written for another purpose, but we have incorporated it into our argument. The objective of the Yukon Indian people as stated in our position paper,

"Together today for our children tomorrow,"
is to obtain a settlement of our claim that will help
us and our children to live in a changing world. The
very essence of our claim is the survival of our
people and our way of life. A just settlement will
guarantee our survival and provide a means by which



we can control our future. Our people have many deep feelings about our land and about the future of Indian people. Our philosophy remain as part of this land may help explain why we as owners of this great land are so opposed to the building of a pipeline before our claims are settled and implemented.

Our claim is based on the traditional philosophy of our people, it expresses an intention to keep our values and to secure a political and economic base from which the Indian people could mutually progress with the rest of Canadian society. With just settlement of our claims, we feel we can participate as full citizens of this country and that we will be able to live and work together with the rest of Canadian society.

value for land and its accompanying cultural values by the Canadian people, and especially by the government people is a precondition for a successful settlement. Traditional rights are the most important ingredient of northern life and their preservation by our people is our principal interest. Therefore, a very important point for government to understand is that land settlement to be considered meaningful to the Yukon Indian people must be a settlement which has its foundation in our traditional concept of land ownership.

Further, the settlement must provide for the changing needs in the future, namely to conclude a general agreement as to the future steps

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required so that orderly progress can be made until
we are finally in a position to manage our affairs
without program-tied direction from the Federal
Government. To meet our goals it has always been the
design of the Council for Yukon Indians to work
together with the Federal Government to jointly design
a settlement which will guarantee for our children
the right to choose the kind of future they may want.

A settlement which will a general economic, political, social, cultural frame-work within which our people will be able to control our way of life; land claims settlement to our people is not just a compensation for or the return of our

land but the democratic right to determine what happens in our land.

The Council for Yukon Indians believes that it should be the prerogative of the Indian people to decide whether they wish to move into white society and live under government rules and regulations, or whether they wish to remain on Indian land under local laws. Only in this way can the Indian people feel that they have a choice and an opportunity to be equal to the white man. Under settlement, Indian people will retain certain lands in which they shall have complete government control subject only to the sovereign rights of the Government of Canada. The lands which are retained by the Yukon Indian people shall be controlled by a municipal type government structure at the community level and such necessary control structure as is



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required so the local organizations will be able to effectively function.

The concept of the Council for Yukon Indians is that the local community will have its own government structure much like the present municipalities in the Yukon Territory except that it will not be subject to amendment by the Yukon Territorial Government.

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It will have the right to carry out all municipal functions including administration of schools, welfare, policing and local judicial system on Indian lands, child adoption of their people, road building, zoning and general regulation by local bylaws.

participation of all agencies which make pertinent decisions on land usages is required in order to protect Indian traditional rights of hunting and fishing. On certain lands the Indians shall have the exclusive right to carry on their traditional pursuits which shall include huntings, fishing and trapping. Although the title to this land may remain with the Government of Canada, no other activity may be carried on without the consent of the Indian people.

The objective of the Indian people is to have the choice to take part in development, not take part, or stop development. If Indian people wish to take part in development, they must play an important part in the development. The Federal Government must accept the fact that we must participate in the planning of the future of this land, and in doing so, we determine the character and the rate of development.

We want to take part in development in the North on terms which are acceptable to Indian people. We are confident that given our Indian culture and the tools of the white society we can learn to develop as citizens capable of



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contributing to Canadian society. In conclusion, the underlying principle is that our people must be allowed to move back to the land where we would be free, independent and comfortable with the way of life we know and understand.

A fair settlement will allow us to participate in every part of the economic life of the Yukon and yet guarantee us the preservation of the values of our religion, our philosophy and our Indiar way of life. Now, I turn next to the extent of the Old Crow land claim, Mr. Commissioner.

The area which has been traditionally used by the Loucheux of Old Crow has been very extensive, extending outside the Yukon Territory borders in many areas. However, for the purposes of this settlement, it shall be considered to comprise all of the Yukon Territory north of the 65th degree parallel and bordered by the Northwest Territories - Yukon border on the east, and the Alaska-Yukon border on the west and the Beaufort Sea on the north.

This area is presently inhabited only by Indian people with ancestral rights in the Yukon, except for a very small number of government service personnel and a very few non-Indian people not in government employment. I might add that the land in question is much more susceptible to permanent change and damage due to disturbance than anywhere else in the Yukon Territory.

For these reasons, there are



1 different social, economic and political implications to consider on behalf of the Old Crow people than for other Indian communities in the Yukon Territory. I turn now, Mr. Commissioner to the Old Crow land claim Δ

principles.

The fundamental objective of the people of Old Crow is to obtain control over their lives and their lands. The evidence at Old Crow demonstrates that for at least 1,000 years the people of Old Crow have lived in harmony with the Porcupine caribou herd and have used the land of the northern Yukon from the southern drainage of the Porcupine River to Herschel Island in the north. The people of Old Crow do not distinguish between social, economic

and environmental aspects of their existence.

For them, the pursuit of their livelihood, whether it be by using the caribou corrals still in evidence, or hunting caribou by modern methods the effect is the same; and that is, that they are at one with the wildlife they require to survive. Caribou are the fundamental component in this survival. The first principle then, Mr. Commissioner, is that the Porcupine caribou herd, the essence of the Old Crow way of life, must remain in existence under the stewardship and protection of the people of Old Crow.

For the people of Old Crow trapping and primarily ratting is the economic mainstay which has the cultural integrity of Old Crow and provided an economic bridge with which the people of Old Crow can function and interact with the outside world on their

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own terms. The ratting season of March to June on Old Crow Flats is a major cultural event as well. The people of Old Crow in their evidence before this Inquiry often referred to the Crow Flats as their bank or freezer. In the spring when food supplies are getting low, Crow Flats is always at their doorstep with an abundant supply of food and fur.

The second principle then, Mr. Commissioner, is that the drainage basin of the Old Crow River which encompasses Old Crow Flats be preserved for the exclusive in perpetuity for the people of Old Crow and that these lands be withdrawn from future development and remain in effect as their bank. The people of Old Crow have been managing and administering their affairs in harmony with their environment since the times of Klo Kut. They have been able to retain these functions in the present day settlement.



They see these functions as being fundamental to their ongoing existence and well-being of their people, the community, and their culture.

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The third principle then, Mr. Commissioner, is that the people of Old Crow have the powers to control their way of life and the environment within which they exist.

aspect of prejudice that we claim will result if the pipeline is constructed before this land claims settlement is implemented. It is against the backdrop of these three principles that we submit that a pipeline will prejudice the land claims position of the Old Crow people. That prejudice is manifested firstly by the fact that the development poses potential conflicts with the first principle. The first principle was that the Old Crow caribou herd must remain in existence under the stewardship and the protection of the people of Old Crow. We do not feel that this can be guaranteed by Arctic Gas. Furthermore, we do not feel that this can be guaranteed under the corridor concept.

In addition to this, we feel that subsidiary development such as the Dempster Highway and Beaufort Sea exploration could also impinge upon the integrity of the herd. The people of Old Crow fear a development could destroy the herd and are on that basis opposed to it. There has also been considerable evidence presented to this



Inquiry which casts doubt on the ability of the applicant to ensure the integrity of the herd.

That prejudice is manifested secondly by the fact that the pipeline development clearly runs contrary to the aspirations of the people of Old Crow, and is so inconsistent with these aspirations that it will either alienate people from the development, or potentially alienate people from the land. The people of Old Crow have expressed concern that the impacts would change the nature of the way in which they utilize the land and the nature of the way in which they view the land, and also that the impacts would change the nature of the community.

A heart of this concern is Old Crow Flats, and the ratting activities on Old Crow Flats.

The second concern which continually presses at the people of Old Crow is the demands for oil and gas exploration activities to be conducted on the Old Crow Flats area. Within the corridor concept proposed by the Federal Government it can be clearly anticipated that exploration activities adjacent to the pipeline would be accelerated and encouraged. It is the fear of the Old Crow people that this exploration will commence again on the Old Crow Flats. These concerns clearly prejudice that second principle.

Thirdly, that prejudice is also manifested by the fact that the development that goes before land claims goes contrary to their



fundamental aspirations of settling a claim before any major developments occur. The scale and size of this project and features which are not directly attributed to the project would make their presence felt in Old Crow as well. This could be represented by increased government activity, and increased private agencies involved in Old Crow. It is viewed by the people of Old Crow that the pipeline development would result in an increasingly large and insensitive white framework heing placed on the community.

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The people of Old Crow have also expressed fear that such a development would alienate people from their traditions and their culture. They see such an alienation having the effect of ruining their possibilities of determining their own affairs. In this sense these concerns and the implications of development prejudice the third principle of their land claims.

The pipeline is seen by the people of Old Crow as something more than a prejudice to their land claims. It is seen as a prejudice to their very existence. It is at this point that a person must understand who and what the people of Old Crow are before they can appreciate both the intensity of their feeling and the meaning behind it. The people of Old Crow have a culture which is distinct and vibrant when contrasted with other North American cultures. The people of Old Crow have made many adaptations over the years, but have retained the essence of their own distinct pattern of culture.



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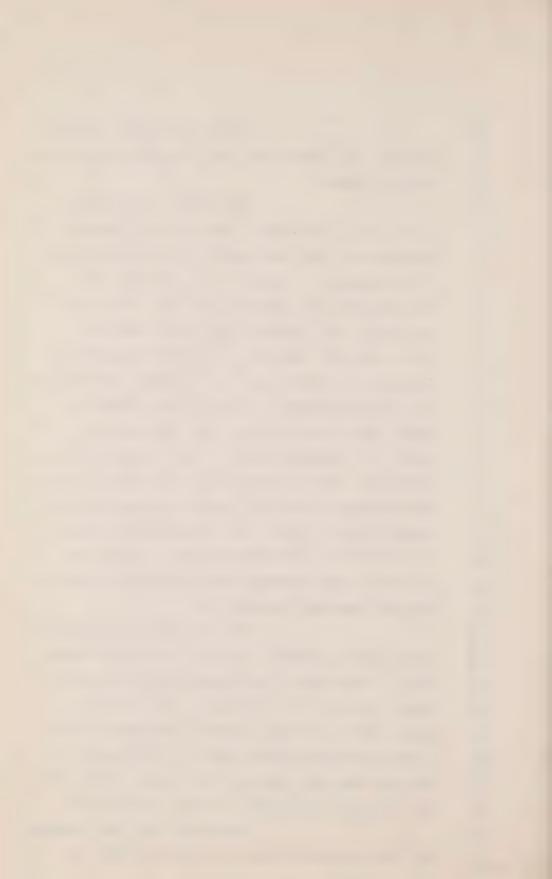
I turn now to some overview subjects, Mr. Commissioner, and the first being social-cultural impacts.

The culture of the people of Old Crow is considerably more than the outward manifestations that are readily visible to the visitor to the community. Culture is the sum total of individual and group patterns of life. It is more than hunting and trapping, the social groups and social community functions. Culture is embodied in the mind of an individual. It is embodied and developed in a training process, a large portion of which is neither set out explicitly by the individual nor taught in a conscious manner. Such things as alcohol consumption, family disintegration, and other negative characteristics have been cited as an indication that Indian culture is dying. The whole notion of death of a culture is questionable at best. Cultures are not static, they transform from generation to generation and have tremendous adaptability.

When one considers how people change and are changed the notion of rate of change and the values which have changed must be considered. These things must be considered in more than the way in which they affect economic practices of people or some particular social aspects of the people, or how they alter the history of the people, or how they may rearrange the patterns of social organization.

Predictions must also encompass

not just the physical world of people but also the



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spiritual world. It is in this sense that the statements of many people in Old Crow about concerns they feel in relation to the development of a pipeline in the Northern Yukon must be considered. These concerns are expressed by way of some specific changes that are anticipated to their environment, but they are also expressed in terms of the fears of how these types of development will alter the ways in which people think about the world around them.

The question is not one of specific environmental impacts or specific social impacts, but rather how the construction and development of a pipeline as a whole will affect ways in which people spiritually perceive their world. The implications embodied in this view of culture are that a simple assessment of what is happening today in terms of material culture, what is happening today in terms of a variety of social indicators, is neither an adequate nor sufficient source of information upon which to base a justification or rationale for developing pipelines. While many of these aspects of culture are not explicit, even to those who are familiar with the culture, it does not mean that they are not known.

The implication of this is

that in order for things to be appropriately
adapted to culture the rate of development and rate
of change or the very rate at which things are
accepted and incorporated must be ordered and established by the people of that culture.



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If a pipeline is constructed without these conditions being fulfilled, then it is reasonable to anticipate the number of impacts upon the culture. These impacts will extend beyond those aspects that are readily measureable such as alcoholism, criminal offences, deaths, increased mortality, increased suicide and many other of the rather negative functions that have been attributed to the large-scale developments of this order.

But there will also be another set of impacts which are less measureable and possibly have greater long-term effects. These are impacts that occur in the ontological or in other words the metophysical sphere. The whole question of identity and of social sanctions are the fundamental issues of impact. With this, one can see the perception of the environment and how development alters perception of the environment. The issue is complex and difficult to understand for the visiting social scientist of a different culture.

Problems are enormous in magnitude. They transend his ability to understand many of the complicated relationships and they also transend his ability to understand or follow how the more apparent manifestations of culture are linked together with the more spiritual manifestations.

These are areas which the people of Old Crow have kept largely to themselves. They are not topics of open discussion

i.e. their beliefs and value systems. It is the concern for these types



of things which are the very core of being a person from Old Crow and explains why Old Crow people speak so strongly about their history, their life and the future of their children in an attempt to preserve the integrity of their community.

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Mr. Commissioner, I'll move now to the relationship of the Porcupine caribou herd and the Dempster Highway and we are concentrating on this particular issue because of the relationship of the Old Crow people with the Porcupine caribou herd. I would also add that the Fairbanks corridor involves the possibility of a Dempster lateral and to the same extent we are concerned.

Much has been said during the course of this Inquiry about the unsurpassed wildlife spectacle of the Porcupine caribou herd. This wildlife spectacle is of itself worthy of preservation but the case becomes of paramount concern in the light of the economic and cultural relationships between the herd and communities such as Old Crow. In the same way that pipeline engineers do not have all the answers, the caribou biologists are, by their own admission, in the very early stages of understanding the caribou phenomenon. The evidence that this Inquiry has heard about the drastic decline in the numbers of the northwest or Arctic Slope caribou herd in Alaska is extremely disturbing in that the caribou biologists are unable to formulate a management response simply because the factors causing the decline cannot be adequately identified.



In the context of the Porcupine caribou herd the pending completion of the Dempster Highway without adequate study either by the various government authorities or the Arctic Gas creates a serious concern about the well-being of the herd. All the evidence of this Inquiry indicates that the potential impact of the Dempster Highway far outweighs the potential impact of a gas pipeline. However, this is particularly true with the interior route where the combined impacts of the two developments may cause a severe decline in the population of the herd which will have serious cultural, and economic consequences for the people of Old Crow.

The Arctic Gas wildlife consultants did not conduct any studies upon the Dempster Highway and spent very little of their time in that area. However, they admitted that uncontrolled traffic and access along the Dempster Highway could potentially prevent the Porcupine caribou herd from reaching one of its major wintering grounds.

Several seasons of research and studies will be required before there is a proper management response formulated with respect to the Dempster Highway. If the interior route were to be approved, the problem would be compounded as the three access roads to the interior route from the Dempster Highway create further interaction with the caribou herd and also opens up the entire region between the Dempster Highway and Old Crow and the Porcupine herd to general human access.



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One of the major disputes between the various caribou biologists was over the relative importance of the caribou migration and caribou calving. We submit that the weight of evidence indicates that calving is the most susceptible caribou activity because any disruption of it results in direct declines in the population of the herd. Disruption of migration, on the other hand, could not only lead to caribou mortality but could also dictate different use and less optimum use of wintering ranges.

What is important, however, is the view shared by all caribou biologists that more specific demographic research be carried out. The suprising fact is that caribou research has come to a halt now that Arctic Gas has prepared its study and is awaiting permission to construct a pipeline. Without the further demographic research being carried out well in advance of the pipeline construction, we submit that the Porcupine caribou herd may face the same problem confronting the northwest caribou herd in Alaska and also the 40 mile caribou herd.

Without the completed research and study, it will be impossible to isolate the factors contributing to any declines and thereby resulting in an appropriate management wildlife response. Furthermore, the failure to isolate the cause of this decline in Alaska reinforces our view that a pipeline should never be constructed across the northern Yukon.

Mr. Jackimchuk on behalf of Arctic Gas consortium holds the opinion that migratory



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movement is the key factor in the survival of the herd. As we have stated above we submit that the activity on the calving grounds and post-calving aggregation is the most important aspect because it directly affects the reproduction of the herd. The list of advantages and disadvantages of the prime and interior routes in the evidence of Mr. Jackimchuk fails to take into account the opinion expressed by Dr. Bergerud that the migratory urge is so strong that the unavoidable interaction feared by Mr. Jackimchuk may not necessarily result in the depletion of the herd.



However, it is clear that

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the interactions may detrimentally affect the ability of the people of Old Crow to obtain caribou meat during the fall, winter and spring. Further, the interior route has the great disadvantage from a corridor aspect of having an above-ground oil pipeline intersecting all the seasonal migration routes. Also, the requirement of an all-weather permanent road in order to construct an oil pipeline would be disastrous not only for the Porcupine caribou herd but for the people of Old Crow as well. We submit that Mr. Jakimchuk's list of advantages and disadvantages did not take into consideration the fact that the Dempster Highway and the three access roads to the interior route impacts not only the wintering range south of the Dempster Highway, but the entire wintering range between the Dempster Highway and the interior route. In other words, the transportation infrastructure required to haul pipe and pipeline facilities must be taken into account. We also submit that all the other subsidiary developments such as mining and increased activity in the Eagle Plains Basin and the possibility of an oil pipeline must be taken into consideration.

However, the entire concept of adding the natural impacts plus the man-made impacts cannot be fully understood in any event because the present research conducted over a short time span has not provided the results to fully understand the natural dynamics of caribou population and movement.



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We note Mr. Jakimchuk's stated preference for the prime route is made in the light of his admission that he has less confidence in making comments about the interior route because of the degree of unpredictability regarding impacts upon caribou and other mammals. Based upon the evidence of the other caribou biologists that the prime route is not preferable, we submit good reason exists for no pipeline routing in the Northern Yukon in either of the prime or interior routes. The likelihood of miscalculation and catastrophe is great and we would prefer to err on the side of caution.

The international aspect of
the Porcupine caribou herd also dictates that no
pipeline development take place. The lack of any
meaningful restrictions on the hunting of caribou in
the State of Alaska and in the Northwest Territories
as compared to the more regulated Yukon caribou
hunting, suggests that the Porcupine caribou herd may
be in a precarious position at this date. Until the
research of the Porcupine caribou herd can be more
conclusive with respect to behaviour patterns, and
population dynamics, the added impacts of a gas pipeline,
an oil pipeline and an all-weather road are too
critical to be permitted.

a size similar to the 40-mile herd, it is all well and good to say it could be nurtured back to a healthy size. But in the meanwhile, people of Old Crow could die culturally and economically.



I turn now, Mr. Commissioner, to regional economic problems that we have outlined with respect to this development.

It has been stated by Arctic Gas that the Mackenzie Valley economy is in an undeveloped state and would benefit from the construction of a natural gas pipeline. In fact Arctic Gas positively states that without the stimulus of the pipeline construction the Mackenzie Valley region is going to fall into an economic depression. We disagree with this assumption on two grounds:

- (1) The statement makes the explicit assumption that if the development comes, the people of the Mackenzie and especially the Indian people will obtain benefits from the pipeline.
- (2) The statement assumes that the trend in the valley is toward wage employment and that those who are not in fact in wage employment at this time are in a depressed state.
- (3) The statement implies that there will be a major long-term employment and economic benefits which will accrue to the region.

We submit that the native people of the Mackenzie Valley and Northern Yukon will receive only marginal benefits in terms of short-term wage employment, but will pay heavily in terms of social costs and cultural dislocation. The basic values of pipeline proponents in the Indian communities are so diametrically opposed that no adequate cost benefit analysis can be successfully

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applied. Furthermore, the expressed view that the Mackenzie Valley is in a state of depression may be applicable to the non-native communities, but can hardly apply to native communities along the river. The view assumes an either/or condition in which native society either follows a purely traditional way of life, or turns to a purely wage employment way of life. Evidence from Old Crow and other communities in the Mackenzie Valley shows that adaption is taking place in that wage employment and hunting and fishing and trapping coincide together.

The man-land ties are not disappearing but rather are being redefined. We submit that there must be a positive attitude towards development of this nature in order for communities to obtain real benefit. But the evidence in the community hearings at Old Crow manifestly demonstrate that such an attitude does not exist, despite the early public relations meetings that were held in Old Crow by Arctic Gas.

Rather than protecting the region from economic collapse by establishing a degree of self-sufficiency through the creation of an economic and transportation infrastructure, we submit the development would have the effect of placing long-term burdans on the region. Projects that are undertaken to support pipeline construction are built to such a large scale that they will be far larger than the post construction period requires. The region will nonetheless have to bear a portion of the cost in



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maintaining overbuilt facilities if they can be supported at all. We submit that regionally or community by community, the negative impacts outweigh the marginal benefits.

The scale of both of the applicants' proposals overshadow all other activities that are currently being carried out in the region or even being proposed for the area. Even the largest communities, such as Whitehorse, Yellowknife or Inuvik have expressed concern about their ability to cope adequately with the development of this scale. In fact, evidence has been presented of dislocation in large predominantly white cities along the Alyeska Pipeline route. The scale of the development is so overwhelming that all other activities are placed in the shadow of pipeline construction. We submit that this climate is not one condusive to stimulating alternative development. Any new interests wishing to establish in the region must do so in competition with pipeline wages and salaries.

Not only are the wages and salaries high on pipeline tasks, but the experience in Alaska has indicated that other conditions are also expected by the employees. These include a package which is not all favorable for the employer. Low productivity, high wages, feather-bedding, substandard work, increased cost because of monitoring, and the necessity of monitoring because of substandard work are part of the package that appears to have been inherited by the State of Alaska as a consequence of



the Alyeska Pipeline.

The enormous scale of the pipeline development also gives rise to another situation. While it may not be quantifiable, is certainly felt by the region. This is the level of activity and excitement which overpowers the region during the project's time frame. While there may be some benefits in this state, there are, we submit, considerably greater costs. The rather frantic situations which arise during these developments result in a decreased sensitivity to community issues and to other people.

The results of these changes in attitude are manifested in a variety of social and cultural problems.

One of the major problems is that to the extent that the pipeline companies are successful in attracting already trained labor, there will be a concomitant disbenefit to the regional economy in the loss of that person during the construction phase of the pipeline. We recommend that wage and price guidelines be implemented and enforced during the construction phase. There are obvious problems with the political acceptability of such a recommendation.

A great deal of evidence has been presented to the Inquiry outlining the fast pace of development which prevents native people from obtaining anything but menial labor and little training for future occupations. Furthermore, there is

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substantial evidence which indicates that largescale developments which attempt to force growth also fail on these same grounds. It appears that it is not so much the time frame in which the projects are undertaken, as it is the scale of the project itself. Admittedly, we are not aware of major undertakings that have been intentionally staged over long periods of time so that the project will take place in response to the needs of the community affected by the proposal. Economies of scale, problems in assembling a labor force, and inflationary complications are all factors which demand that major undertakings such as a pipeline development progress as rapidly as possible. It is our contention that the applicants or other interested parties have not demonstrated that slowing down a pipeline's construction or attempting to speed up the rate of construction will effectively reduce environmental, social, economic and cultural impacts. The only evidence that we have seen so far indicates that large projects, whether they be short-term or long-term, have very costly effects from a social and cultural standpoint on native people.

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We submit that the magnitude of the pipeline development will inevitably attract a tremendous in-migration of outsiders directly related to pipeline development, and also people just wishing to be where the action is. The companies have taken the view that there will be relatively few in-migrants that are not directly or indirectly on the company payroll who will be leaving at the end



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of the construction phase. We submit that it be a condition of the construction of the pipeline that if the companies are incorrect in their assessment of the in-migration, that they bear the burden of the increased cost of servicing in-migration.

In a community such as Old Crow the addition of even one or two white families to the community could create serious problems of overcrowding. We recommend that the applicant fund these communities so that they will be able to effectively monitor the extent of in-migration and the effects of in-migration upon their communities.



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Associated with large numbers of inmigrants is the corresponding decrease in political and economic power of those people who have lived in the region for a substantial amount of time. The evidence of this Inquiry indicates that such a process has already taken place to some extent to the disadvantage of northern native people. We recommend that there be a ten year residency rule, in other words that a person has to be a resident of ten years in the region prior to being allowed to vote or being allowed—being involved in the decision—making process in a particular community.

The view expressed at this

Inquiry that white inmigrants are visitors rather than

owners in the North is one that has never been accepted

by governments, either federal or territorial, primarily

because it would have serious implications upon the

attraction of civil servants and other northerners to

the North for the two to three year periods that they

stay.

In other words, the recommendation is most likely to be unacceptable, Mr. Commissioner.

It is a concern of ours that the development will change considerably the political and economic power of the region in other ways. The pipeline company, as has been the case in Alaska, and the union leaders will become major political forces in the region. Both the company constructing the pipeline and the union people are short-term residents of the region.

We submit that these two groups



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through the manipulation of major financing schemes and through the manipulation of manpower will have possibly the greatest political power in the region. It is our concern that these powers be limited and restricted as much as possible to ensure that northern people will not be disenfranchised either directly or indirectly.

development, we submit that the region should receive an economic rent from the pipeline development. The concept of user pays should be applied to a variety of costs which will arise during the construction and operation of the pipeline. The applicants may choose to meet these obligations through an arrangement of economic rent. This, however, does not build in a component of long-term profit for the region which, we submit, should be embodied in any development to not only offset costs but to provide the resources for the people of the region to recover and reorganize after the development of the pipeline.

The region does not currently have the power to levy an economic rent on the development. In order to do so, this would require approval of the Federal Government. We recommend that the Federal Government provide the region with these powers as a step which will precede the granting of any pipeline certificate.

Throughout our submission we have assumed that the successful applicant must bear all costs associated with the pipeline project. For the



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most part the applicant has taken the position at this Inquiry that many of the concerns raised by native organizations and environmental organizations will simply not materialize. Therefore, we recommend that the successful applicant shall bear all the associated costs related to the pipeline development in its broadest context. We submit that many of these costs are directly measureable. For example, the costs of the monitoring agency staffing, housing and so on present no measurement problem.

overhead such as teachers, doctors, nurses and so on can be accurately measured. The same applies to municipal services and the government bureaucracy. The greatest difficulty in the concept of user pays is the measurement of the loss of language and culture and determining the associated costs of inmigration. In this respect, we recommend that the successful applicant be required to provide impact funding in advance of construction for alcohol awareness programs, cultural retention programs, and retention of language programs on a community by community basis.

Of up-front impact funding could be assessed by the monitoring agency prior to final design and construction. All costs are ultimately borne by the American consumer and could, in fact, be so high as to make the marketing of frontier gas unrealistic. The only alternative would be for American consumers to internalize the costs of transportation by using an all American pipeline



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route.

The performance bond. We submit that the applicants be required to post a performance bond. This performance bond should encompass the potential cost increases that may occur if unanticipated damages in social or environmental areas occur as a result of the actions or inactions of the applicant. In the light of the innovative and untried procedure being proposed by the applicant, we recommend that a five percent of the escalating costs of the project be assessed as the performance bond.

There is clearly inadequate information as to how this bond may function appropriately. We feel that it should be researched in depth so that an appropriate mechanism can be developed for assessing and measuring damage as well as releasing the money in the bond. However, a performance bond in the environmental and social field is in an untested area. There have been no precedents established. The example at hand is how does one establish a decline in the Porcupine caribou herd and attribute that decline to the actions of the applicant or any other party?

Furthermore, how does one assess charges to the applicant for such a decline? The critical issue here is that the damages are not readily quantifiable so that when one is faced with the problem of assessing charges against a performance bond, the charges are not neatly isolated nor would they be accepted by the applicant.

I would like now, Mr. Commissioner,



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to turn to the interior route. The people of Old Crow have stated categorically and unanimously that they oppose pipeline construction along the proposed interior route. This opposition does not diminish after land claims are settled and implemented because land claims is perceived as the means of preventing large-scale development proposals forever.

A number of reaons were given for this stance. We will give these reasons by first isolating what problems are perceived with the proposed pipeline routing. Then we will outline a set of recommendations which could be established with the intention of minimizing problems or impacts. Following that, we will point out how these recommendations are likely to fail. The primary failure of all recommendations would occur if land claims were not settled and implemented prior to the approval of a pipeline project.

This has been categorically stated by the people of Old Crow and by the Council for Yukon Indians. To construct the pipeline along the interior route prior to the settlement and implementation of the land claims would be considered an act of bad faith and in this context, the degree to which the community could be expected to cooperate and participate in any constructive fashion in the development would be seriously encumbered. It can also be anticipated that such an act would lead to further negative circumstances and costs to the community.



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about the interior route have been organized so that those issues that are perceived to be the most critical to the people of Old Crow have been given the first priority. These impacts are almost entirely social in nature and are held with such conviction that they have the likelihood of becoming self-fulfilling.

Those issues which are perceived as potentially dangerous problems may well, because of the way in which they are thought of, become just that, dangerous problems.

The next topic of concern in almost equal intensity in terms of the concern which has been generated among the people of Old Crow is the potential environmental damages and the destruction that these would have to the man-land ties. The people of Old Crow see the building of a pipeline along the interior route would cause irreversible damage to their country and to the animals which are part of their country.

The third factor which is considerably less significant to the people of Old, Crow in comparison to the previous two are the economic changes that would accompany the pipeline development along the interior route. Little of value is seen in terms of potentially high wages and the possibilities for jobs for some of the young men in Old Crow. However, there was considerable concern expressed about how these big salaries and attractive wages would make the employment the community had to offer to its members comparatively much less attractive.



Their fear was that this would
detract from the economy which is already functioning
effectively in the community. Following these
discussions, arguments will then turn to the projects
that the applicants have proposed and examine how
these projects would be received by the community and

affect the community. Following that, we will then examine the implications of the corridor concept if the

interior route is utilized as a corridor.

The proximity of the interior route of the pipeline is a source of a great deal of concern for the people of Old Crow. During the community hearing, the Inquiry heard a number of these concerns expressed. The following is a list of some of the social and cultural problems and costs that the people perceive would accompany the development of a pipeline along the interior route:

- 1) Increased use of alcohol.
- 19 | 2) Increased bootlegging.
- 2) 3) Increased drug use.
  - 4) Too many people who want to live in Old Crow.
    - 5) Broken homes and families.
- 25 6) Pipeline workers coming into Old Crow and getting people drunk.
- 25 . 7) Culture shock for Old Crow people.
  - 8) Whiteman shooting caribou for their antlers only.
- 27 9) Disappearance of caribou and livelihood when the pipeline is completed.
  - 10) Married whiteman will come to Old Crow and live
    with Old Crow girls and leave them when construction

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1	1	is completed.
2	11	) Fires can occur which will deplete the Old Crow
3 -		wood supply.
4 .	12	) Pipeline will mean more police officers, game
5		officers and customs officers.
6	13	) If Old Crow becomes a white settlement, Old Cro
		Indians will become like Whitehorse Indians;
3		drinking, poor and on welfare.
3	14	) The pipeline will change Old Crow so much that
) ;		it cannot change back; fear of strangers, locks
1 1		and trespassing.
2 '	15	) The pipeline will result in child abuse, mental
3,		illness, and physical illness.
4	16	) When Old Crow land is destroyed, the kids leave
5		for school and never return and Old Crow will
6		die.
7	17	) The pipeline jobs will be temporary and short-
8		term and there will be racial prejudice in the
5 1		construction camps.
)	18	After the pipeline is finished some men will
1		want to stay in Old Crow and live off the land.
2	19	Anytime the government wants to do anything
3		they go ahead even if the people of Old Crow
4		are against it.
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- 20) The white people work in our land and make it harder for us to make our living out of our own country.
- 21) White people from outside make laws for us and tell us how to live.
- 22) Pipeline research has disturbed caribou migration
- 23) Increase in venereal diseases.
- 24) Young people would stop listening to older people in the community.
- 10 25) There would be more development in Old Crow from the outside.
- 26) Children would move out of Old Crow and forget old ways
  - 27) Building of the interior route would remove the choice the people of Old Crow have as to whether they wish to stay in the community of go outside, whether they wish to live on the land or live in the white man's world.
  - 28) There would be more white people moving into Old Crow and an increasing insensitivity to the people of Old Crow by the people that move in. The white framework would be less oriented to the needs of the people of Old Crow.

It is interesting to note that the community nurse in Old Crow believes that the influx of pipeline consultants and researchers increased the stress on the people of Old Crow and created conflicts that people were unable to deal with. The stresses of such a nature that it cannot be controlled by physical effort and the frustration is relieved in



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other forms such as violence, aggression, alcohol, drugs, and other social problems. Although no one in Old Crow has openly advocated violence as have some communities in the Mackenzie Valley, we submit that there are highly charged emotional feelings about the pipeline. We fear that if the pipeline is constructed on the interior route, that many Indian people will be left no alternative but to react in a violent manner.

without the agreement of the Indian people of Old Crow and the Mackenzie Valley, we submit that a tremendous increase in the cost of policing northern communities and the pipeline would result. We submit that the known behaviour of pipeline construction workers will put communities up against the wall, forcing a violent reaction if for no other reason than to maintain their integrity and the integrity of their community.

Page E-5 and page E-6 are in

reverse order.

We submit that apart from the evidence of the native people themselves in the community hearings, that one of the most useful ideas presented to this Inquiry was the view expressed by Mr. Usher, that white people in the north must be considered visitors rather than permanent residents whose values are the controlling factors in northern development. This view does not depend upon native people comprising a majority of the population as is the case in the Northwest Territories and as well



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could be argued for the people of Old Crow with respect to the Yukon Territory north of the 65th Parallel.

Rather, this Inquiry should consider a historical perspective particularly with reference to the Yukon Territory, that recognizes the erosion of political power as a result of similar large-scale developments which the pipeline companies presently propose.

We refer to the Klondike
Gold Rush and the construction of the Alaska Highway.
From this perspective the evidence of the community
hearings is in fact the only meaningful baseline data
from which to draw conclusions about the pipeline's
likely social and economic impacts.

The social impact study prepared by Arctic Gas did not have the advantage of taking into c onsideration the views of the communities most directly affected by their development. We submit that the availability of the community hearings evidence now -- and we have seen this -- will unlikely have a major impact upon the attitudes of pipeline companies simply because those views are opposed to pipeline development. By the same token the evidence presented by the government at this Inquiry has often been in the context of existing government programs which accept the existence of social problems likely to result from pipeline development and attempt to provide cures.

The threat of a large-scale development such as the Arctic Gas proposal does little to enhance the view on the part of the Indian



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people that they will be able to manage and control their affairs. If such a development is permitted to go ahead it demonstrates clearly and explicitly that their way of life, their desires for the future and their values are of little consequence to the people of Canada.

Now I'll deal with some

The most obvious recommendation

recommendations.

that has been discussed during the course of this

Inquiry states that all pipeline construction workers

must be kept in construction camps at all times. No

doubt efforts should be made to provide taverns and

organized prostitution in construction camps, but we

feel that these recommendations will ultimately fail

in that every person who comes north would take it

as a personal failure if they were unable to experience

life in a small Indian community adjacent to the

pipeline.

In addition to the movement of pipeline-related personnel there is considerable concern about the in-migration of people not related specifically or directly to the construction of the pipeline. We are included to feel that there are no recommendations that we can make which will assist the applicant in terms of managing this situation.

All the construction workers should be flown in and out of construction jobs from the camp to southern centres, and in the event of layoffs, strike problems or shutdowns, all the



workers in construction camps should be flown out immediately for the duration of the disruption.

The difficulty with this recommendation is that no company can force a worker to get on an airplane, particularly when it is a labor disruption, and the company will in fact have no control over workers whatsoever.

We recommend that communities such as Old Crow be empowered to control the inmigration of outsiders. The difficulty with this recommendation is the legal problem as to whether or not a community can in fact prevent any person from entering that community, and also whether the community would be able to enforce such controls particularly when members of the community would be returning with new-found friends from construction camps. The conflicts created in these cases would be unavoidable.

In any event, we recommend that communities such as Old Crow have the sole determination as to whether any permanent residents could be added to their community and if so, that the services to be provided be determined by the community with all costs to be charged to the applicant.

We recommend that it be
a term and condition with respect to Old Crow that the
pipeline company be absolutely prohibited from making
any use of Old Crow in the Old Crow Airport facilities
because of the in-migration problem, and also because
of the lack of suitable space for stockpiling equipment



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alcohol consumption.

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and supplies that would not impinge upon local community activities.

We see problems with making construction camps too attractive in that native people will be drawn to these construction camps from communities without fully realizing what such a move could entail in terms of social and cultural impacts. The problem of in-migration contributes to many of the social impacts likely to occur in Old Crow. However, many problems will occur independently of in-migration and we wish to deal with those separately.

I deal now with increased

One of the most chronic and most frequently cited problems in the north is that related to alcohol consumption. The people of Old Crow feel that if a pipeline is to be built along the interior route, that it would result in a substantial increase in alcohol consumption. Accompanying increased alcohol consumption are complications such as degeneration of family relationships, increases in violent crimes and deaths, increases in alcohol-related deaths, and increases in suicides.

Increased alcohol consumption is generally tied to two factors.

The first is the collapse of the system of sanction in the communities, and the disintegration of values and standards of communities.

This is often observed in



communities in which the changes to the social and cultural fabric of the community are occurring at a rate which exceeds the capacity of the community to adapt. The second factor is that of access. Easier access to alcohol in turn makes alcohol a more visible solution to a problem than in situations where alcohol is very difficult to acquire.

The following problems can be anticipated if the pipeline is built along the interior route:

- . There will be increased alcohol consumption in Old Crow along with the attendant social and cultural problems.
- . That the community will be receiving a substantial increase in traffic, and as a consequence there will be greater access to alcohol
- . The influence and impact of many outside people and agencies upon the Settlement of Old Crow clearly have the effect of placing a stress upon the people of Old Crow. This stress would be one which would draw the people of Old Crow to leaving a large part of their traditions and their beliefs. In these circumstances, taditions and beliefs are not readily replaced.
  - Alcohol will tend to fill a vacuum.

Our recommendations. It is recommended that the applicant be responsible for undertaking and bearing the cost of an alcohol awareness program. The weakness of this recommendation is that alcohol awareness programs are a long-term



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operation. These types of programs operate more successfully when communities are in a more stabilizing phase. During the pipeline construction there is substantial upheaval in the community and it is not the time nor the appropriate measure to cope with the problems which accompany the increased use of alcohol.

We recommend that legislation be enacted to limit the importing of liquor to Old Crow and the amount which can be brought into Old Crow from other communities within the Yukon by non-residents of Old Crow. We feel that this recommendation will fail and that policing is simply not possible.

We recommend that legislation be created to enable the people of Old Crow to establish their own rules and regulations for controlling the consumption of alcohol in their own community.

ensure that camps have liquor facilities and that they are controlled and managed by the applicant. It would be done with a view to reducing the extent to which workers in pipeline operation would be enticed to go to communities for what can generally generically be described as social benefits. This creates problems for the pipeline company in terms of job safety, policing and monitoring movements in and out of camps.

I turn now to the problem of the shift in community control. If the in-migration of outside people were controlled -- and this seems to be outside of the powers of the applicant and of the government -- it can still be expected that there



will be an influx of people to service existing institutions. An illustration of this is the airstrip at Old Crow. It can be reasonably expected that there will be increased traffic and greater use of the airstrip. From this it can also be expected that there will be an increased demand in terms of maintenance and operation of the airstrip.

Currently the airstrip and the roads about the community, as well as a number of other functions, are served by one man in Old Crow.

Should the airstrip be used to a greater extent, it is reasonable to expect an increase in the manpower required to operate and maintain the airstrip.

Currently the single man that operates the airstrip functions rather well in the framework of the Old Crow community. However, there is no insurance that the additional staff will be sensitive to the types and style of government which exists in Old Crow, and feel that the terms of their residency in Old Crow should be established by the Indian people in Old Crow. This same proposition can be applied to the R.C.M.P., to the school, the nursing station, the co-op and to other agencies operating in the community. The decrease in sensitivity can clearly be anticipated when examined against the framework of the amount of pipeline-related activity that has taken place already.



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We recommend that the government agencies currently operating in the community of Old Crow maintained their existing manpower without increase during the construction of the pipeline and during the operational phase of the pipeline. In the face of the increase of people moving into Old Crow and the increase of the use of the Old Crow facilities, it is almost impossible to live up to the terms of this condition without causing considerable inconvenience

to the people of Old Crow.

That any kind of additional service personnel required be accommodated at the construction camp and not the communities. The major weakness of this recommendation is that it assumes that the demands for facilities and their utilization can be controlled and directed. It has been demonstrated that such controls do not operate in Canada and we refer to the evidence relating to the Cypress Anvil Mine development in the Yukon Territory.

The applicants have already accepted the responsibility of bearing the costs of their own medical, policing and staging services.

However, they are only willing to accept those costs if they can be directly and specifically attributed to them—to the development, rather, of the pipeline.

This does not take into account subsidiary and secondary developments which are not directly tied to the pipeline but are there as a consequence of the whole scheme.



and mental health. People in Old Crow have indicated at their community hearing that the town would be ruined if the pipeline is built along this route. With such a view, it is quite conceivable that one can expect a variety of behavioural changes. The first and probably the most important from a physical standpoint is that there would be a reduction in land based activities.

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Most men in Old Crow are fairly fit because of the exercise they gain from hunting, fishing, wood gathering, house building and those activities tied with their traditional economy. If the pipeline is brought alone the interior route, it will likely disrupt this pattern. Another factor related to health is the expected increase of violent acts that will accompany the development of the pipeline along the interior route.

The people in Old Crow expect to see more drinking, more fights and more social disharmony and if all these disruptions occur, they expect to see an increase in injuries and an increase in deaths. In relation to these types of changes there is an increased demand put upon the medical health facilities in the community. Another factor which needs to be considered is the situation of mental health and how this will be affected by the development of the pipeline.

Changing the fabric of the community and the social relations within the community at a rate faster than that at which the



community can assimilate leads to a variety of mental health disorders.

We recommend that increased medical services be provided for the community of Old Crow. However, the fundamental problem of social disruption and violence is not alleviated.

We recommend mental health services be made more readily available to the people of Old Crow. However, the presence of a psychiatrist or a psychologist does little to enhance the stability of a community. A notion that a psychiatrist must attend your community is perceived by the people of the community as a reading that the community is sick and often leads people into courses of action which are expected of a sick community.

I'd like now to deal with the school system. Testimony by a number of people in the community hearings in Old Crow indicated that the school is responding to the needs of the community and that it had developed a number of programs and unique approaches that were suited to the demands and the desires of people for the future. The people of Old Crow feel that they are able to maintain this situation because the school and the community are almost totally Indian in nature and culture.

If there is substantial inmigration of non-Indian people into the community, we fear that an increased number of white children in the school and increased white parents in the community will demand changes to the way in which the school is operated.



This process was evident in Ross River following the Cypress Anvil development. Another concern is the problem of children dropping out of school before they have completed their academic program.

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of the students are leaving school prior to completing the most senior grade that can be obtained in the community. Almost all have carried on attending high school in Whitehorse. The potential availability of jobs for young people full of notions of big money, whether or not in fact a reality, and the whole climate of social disintegration may well lead a number of young people to drop out of school before they complete their school program in the community.

ships. All of the permanent residents of Old Crow are tied to a web of family relationship. This extended branching of relationships provides the community with a stability in troubled times and closeness reducing the isolation from other communities. Most young people are now living in nucleur family arrangements. This only describes the household setting. The social relationships clearly extend to the whole of the domestic group and family ties are very strong and very cohesive.

The continued existence of this rather stable family system has been largely due to the isolation of Old Crow and to the relative cohesiveness of the community. In other settlements which have undergone rapid change as a consequence of the impact of major development transgressions in the family



setting have increased and there have been a decrease 1 in the ability of the domestic group to help the nuclear family cope with these kinds of problems. A number of situations occur which give rise to these Δ circumstances. 5 1) Some men in the community leave the settlement 6 for employment on the development project leaving 8 their spouse and family alone. There is an increase in alcohol consumption and 2) 10 an increase in the number of outside people 11 moving into the community. The combination of the above two factors leads 12 3) 13 to increased promiscuity and a variety of domestic related problems. 14 The traditional system of dealing with transgressions 15 4) 16 on the part of the spouse disintegrates. 17 The domestic group now takes a less significant role in the solution of these 18 19 problems. The consequence of these rather complex 20 situations often is the breakdown in a marriage situation 21 frequently accompanied with violence and child abuse. 22 This is a scenario which has been seen in many of the 23 other communities. It is not one that people of Old 24 Crow are familiar with and they do not wish to see it 25 occur in their community. 26 We have no workable recommendations 27 for this problem. I turn now, Mr. Commissioner, to the 23 man-land relationships and begin with--

stop for a few minutes for coffee then.
'PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES')

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let's



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7 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT) 2 THE COMMISSIONER: All right 3 ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Gamble, would you like 4 to announce that we're about to resume? MR. SCOTT: We're about to 5 6 get started now. THE COMMISSIONER: O.K. MR. VEALE: Mr. Commissione ŋ, in our man-land relationship section, we recommend that 10 no hunting, fishing or trapping be permitted for pipeline construction workers under any circumstances. 11 We recommend, as the evidence of Dr. Mossop indicated. 12 that there should be a complete hunting ban on the 13 Dempster Highway and we urge this Inquiry to adopt 14 15 that recommendation. Further, as part of the land claim proposal for the Old Crow that the people of 16 Old Crow and the people in surrounding communities 17 will have complete control over hunting access in the 18 19 Northern Yukon. Another recommendation in 20 this regard for other areas of the Yukon which could 21 be affected by pipeline development is that newcomers 22 to the Territory have a 10-year period of residency 23 requirement before hunting licences can be acquired. 24 We have considered the 25 recommendation at legislating stricter gun control 26 measures be implemented but we do not feel it's a 27 viable recommendation in Indian communities particularly 28

when it results from developments imposed by outsiders.

We recommend, on page 17,



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a total ban on fishing of any nature by construction workers and that in-migrants as a result of pipeline construction be required to establish a ten-year residency requirement prior to obtaining a sports fishing licence.

It is also recommended that the pipeline companies not be allowed to utilize local fish as food for pipeline camps. This places an additional strain upon fisheries and inflates the price of fish in Indian communities—thereby affecting local consumption.

We're concerned about the problems of quotas on hunting, trapping and fishing. The only recommendation that can be made in this regard is that the activities of sports hunters, sports fishermen, commercial native use and domestic native use be restricted in that order. Now, we indicate that this recommendation is subject to failure in the circumstances of the Porcupine caribou herd where the native harvest is the only significant harvest at this date in the Yukon and hence will be the only harvest to implement quotas on.

Page 18, E-18 regarding the construction worker and environmental training issue, we recommend that the actual training of pipeline construction workers take place in field conditions and be a necessary precondition to a worker commencing at a construction job. We also recommend that any pipeline worker that fails to live up to the conditions spelled out by the agency be prohibited from doing



further work on the pipeline as well as suffering appropriate criminal law sanctions.

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Now we have a section on caribou, Mr. Commissioner, in both the prime and interior route sections, and this has been well covered in the Canadian Arctic Resources brief, and we stand by those as well. We are particularly concerned about the interior route in that caribou are in the vicinity of Old Crow Mountain for the entire fall, winter, and on into the spring season. That is, the construction of the interior route would place a pressure upon the caribou that stay in that region north of Old Crow and may result in them not wintering in that region. It's impossible, of course, to make a specific recommendation that would counter this situation, except that it be a no pipeline situation.

Now on page E-24 Mr.

Commissioner, we have set up a number of problems that occur with economic impacts, and we have discussed these social problems that occur with pipeline employment. We feel that all the economic disadvantages in terms of large salaries and big money that occur in small communities have not — cannot really be met satisfactorily by recommendations that would be effective and minimize the consequences./ the pipeline employm ent is not made available to residents of Old Crow there will be on the one hand ill-will because they are being denied an opportunity; and if it is made readily available, the consequences can be



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anticipated and that is the consequent inflation in the community and big spending.

We outline on page 25 the problems of the shift from traditional economic activities, and we recommend the government provide incentives and stabilize prices to ensure that traditional economic pursuits will be followed by the people of Old Crow.

The problem with the recommendation is that being implemented in the face of a large-scale development we do not feel that it would be a successful venture — as if it were done at the present time.

We also see a problem of increased welfare assistance in the communities and we have no recommendation to counter that problem.

We discuss on page 26 the problems of the transportation infrastructure and how services to the people of Old Crow will be affected during pipeline construction.

We feel that the applicant, there should be a condition that there is an assurance that regular air flights will be provided to all settlements and to Old Crow in particular at a charge which is consistent with their present rate costs.

Secondly, that the applicant place as a first priority the delivery of goods and services to communities, and this would be arranged to ensure that community services would not under any circumstances be placed on a lower priority than



the delivery of goods to pipeline construction spreads.

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We are also concerned about the possible increase in freight rates and the effect that the high wages offered on the pipeline will have in terms of increases in prices in the community itself.

We recommend that the applicant be responsible for paying any associated increases in the cost of living, and it should extend to all community services as well as the cost of items

Secondly, we recommend that the applicant provide the funds to the community for a monitoring agency which will monitor the increased social and economic costs so that they in turn can be passed along to the applicants.

Now we set out on page 28 some of the business activities that are likely to be associated with pipeline development, and it is our view that the people of Old Crow do not have the resources and training to capitalize on entrepreneurial opportunities that become available with the development of a pipeline. We really have no recommendations in that regard. We feel that the co-op cannot become involved in such a large-scale enterprise, as it will drain its resources and reduce the service that it's providing to the community itself.

On page 29 we discuss the increased exploration activity that will be associated with a pipeline development and our concern here is



deal of evidence was presented to the Inquiry at Old Crow on the bad effects that occurred when the seismic explorations took place on the flats, and I would indicate at this time, Mr. Commissioner, that the moratorium on seismic exploration on Old Crow Flats is still in effect for the '76-'77 winter season.

We also feel that a moratorium should be extended until the land claims settlement has established at the Old Crow Flats is an area to be removed forever from this kind of development.

exploration activity which is going to be conducted in the region of Old Crow operate from a place other than the Community of Old Crow itself, and that they not use the community itself for staging their exploration activities.

Now the following pages,
Mr.Commissioner, pages 31 through to 34, we discuss
the applicant projects, mainly Nortran, gas supply
to communities, and business opportunities and benefits,
and we basically set out that none of these particular
benefits are, in the terms of the people of Old Crow,
satisfactory to that community or benefits that are
likely to be any more than marginal and all would be
associated with increased burdens and costs to the
community.

I turn now to our conclusion on page 37. We submit that the interior route is not

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suitable for a pipeline or a corridor development.

The impact on the people of Old Crow and the Porcupine caribou herd and Old Crow Flats will be devastating.

The benefits from the pipeline will be marginal at best for the region.

The Inquiry has heard some

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The Inquiry has heard some discussion with respect to a pipeline route south of the Porcupine River. We do not see any advantages or any significant advantages to such a route. The rout would likely intersect the Porcupine River on two occasions and would enter into the same detrimental interaction between the Dempster Highway and the Porcupine caribou herd. The development pressure on the Old Crow Flats and Eagle Plains Basin would be increased as a result.

The prejudice to the Old Crow land claims would not be diminished.

The following are our major recommendations, Mr. Commissioner:

- 1. That no pipeline be constructed until the land claims of the Yukon Indian people and particularly the people of Old Crow have been settled and implemented
- 2. That no pipeline be constructed at any time on the interior route of the Northern Yukon or any other route in the Porcupine River drainage
- 3. That the principle of self-determination for the people of Old Crow not be compromised by development
- 4. That the area encompassed by the drainage basins of Old Crow Flats and Old Crow River be declared a socially and ecologically sensitive area and be



placed under the control and management of the people of Old Crow as part of the settlement of the Old Crow land claims and be withdrawn from development forever.

(SUBMISSION OF MR. VEALE FOR COUNCIL OF YUKON INDIANS MARKED EXHIBIT 902)



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We would add, Mr. Commissioner, in discussing the prime route that the caribou calving ground and post-calving aggregation areas would be ecologically sensitive areas.

5) We recommend that the principles embodied in the Arctic International Wildlife Range proposal be implemented in the areas of the northern Vukon adjacent to Old Crow lands by representatives of the people of Old Crow with advisory representation for federal and territorial agencies.

Mr. Commissioner, we feel that Old Crow should have an exclusive management control in the region that it is because it is the only community there. This would apply except in the case of the Porcupine caribou herd which clearly has interactions with other communities and an international aspect as well.

- We recommend that the Dempster Highway not be 6) completed as it will have a greater impact upon the Porcupine caribou herd than any proposed gas pipeline.
- That neither the interior route nor any route 7) that crosses the Porcupine River drainage be approved for pipeline construction because the combination of the completion of the Dempster Highway, construction of a gas pipeline, and the increase human access subsequent to that construction will lead to a serious decline in the population of the Porcupine caribou herd and



the undermining of a major food supply and cultural aspect of the people of Old Crow.

Now, if pipeline construction were to proceed against the wishes of the people of Old Crow along the interior route, we submit that substantial research is required to ensure that the interaction of the caribou on the Dempster Highway is minimized, particularly when the equipment and supplies are being mobilized.

9) That if a pipeline is constructed on the interior route or any other route crossing the Porcupine River drainage, we recommend that construction begin in the region of Old Crow River and proceed east and west simultaneously so that the construction activity will pass the known areas of caribou migration in the fall and spring prior to the commencement of that migration.

I would add, Mr. Commissioner, that that is an untested recommendation but we are making it as a suggestion in that hopefully a study could be done to ensure that the migration routes are not impacted directly by the construction activity.

10) That if the pipeline is constructed on the interior route or any other route that crosses the Porcupine River drainage, that the three access roads from the Dempster Highway be reduced to one; that one access road by the permanent all-weather access road near the Northwest Territories border.

Now, the intention behind this

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recommendation is that that would reduce the access to that whole region between the Dempster Highway and the Old Crow community. The problem is that it would likely place a tremendous burden on the snow road along the actual pipeline right-of-way.

That if a gas pipeline is constructed on the interior route or any route that crosses the Porcupine River drainage, that site specific studies be conducted under the scrutiny of the monitoring agency and I would add the people of Old Crow to bring the knowledge of the route alignment and research upon site specific recommendations to an adequate level of knowledge.

Mr. Commissioner, we do not feel that the interior route is a viable route because the applicant has simply concentrated all their time on the prime route. And finally, Mr. Commissioner, we state:

12) That no pipeline be constructed on the interior route unless it is done by means of the construction of snow roads.

Now, sir, in turning to the prime route, I would firstly like to deal with a comment that was made by Mr. Marshall for Arctic Gas which may have unintentionally misrepresented perhaps by inference only our positions. Mr. Marshall stated that we feel that the socio-economic impacts of the prime route will be much less.

I would state to you, sir, categorically that the Council for Yukon Indians is



opposed to the prime route—is as opposed to the prime route as it is to the interior route. The people of Old Crow have indicated that they would rather have the Arctic Gas pipeline built along the prime route if they had no choice.

But that their first preference is for no pipeline at all through the country. Their concern about--

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,

Mr. Veale. Could I just take you back a minute. You've urged that the Dempster Highway not be completed. It is the policy of the Federal Government to complete the Dempster Highway by 1978. The highway is—many millions of dollars have already been expended on the construction of the Dempster Highway.

Yet you urge that it not be completed. That, it seems to me, is an unrealistic proposition and I understand your concern, speaking for the people of Old Crow, about the impact that the completion of the Dempster will have on the Porcupine River herd, but your contention earlier was that the threat to the herd lies principally in the possibility of industrial development in the calving grounds on the coast, and that that was the critical habitat for the herd.

The Dempster Highway intersects
a portion of the winter range. What I don't--well, let
me put it this way; it seems to me those two propositions
are not entirely consistent and secondly, insofar as
you argue that the Dempster Highway should not be

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completed, it seems to me that you're arguing something which should have been taken up with the government when they first began construction of that highway some years ago and they could not be expected now, it seems to me, to say that the highway will not be completed.

If you wish to comment on what I've said, I'd like to hear from you.

MR. VEALE: I suppose the same argument could be applied to the Mackenzie Highway in that the government started it and the government has to complete it, and we--

THE COMMISSIONER: They're not as eager with respect to the Mackenzie Highway.

MR. VEALE: The Dempster-THE COMMISSIONER: And it will

be completed too.

MR. VEALE: That's true. The completion of the Dempster Highway is something that is taking place more from having set the financing wheels in motion than any real desire. The mining community in the Yukon has no interest in pursuing the Dempster Highway. It appears to be the Federal Government having established a policy in the early '60s and not being able to stop.

We would prefer that that highway remain as a tote road, if you will, and not be developed as a complete all-weather access road for the general public. Now, you've indicated that possibly our submissions are inconsistent in that we're



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concerned with the calving ground, but surely it is as great a--a similar threat to the herd just because of the existence and the possible use of that highway and it's of no less concern to us if the Porcupine caribou herd is decimated either by harassment on calving ground or decimated because of what takes place on the Dempster Highway. They're both bad, sir, and that's why we are putting our recommendations in this fashion.

The whole concept of corridor,

I submit, really requires a consideration of the
access to the corridor and if we take the prime route,
it's very clear that the access is by barges and
wharves as they come into the North Slope. But when
we got to the interior route, it's a different kettle
of fish and it's the Dempster Highway and long access
roads across untouched land close to the community
of Old Crow.

THE COMMISSIONER: That's a good point that I don't think has been that effectively made before and I have it well in mind, and it certainly illustrates how the Dempster could have a greater impact if it were used for purposes of bringing pipe and other supplies to a pipeline constructed on the interior route.

In that way, the Dempster would have a greater effect, a greater impact than anyone has so far suggested. I see that point, but I--

MR. VEALE: I appreciate you sir-THE COMMISSIONER: You see, the

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policy of completing those highways is a matter of high national policy determined, as you say, in the early '60s with respect to the Dempster and in the early '70s with respect to the Mackenzie.

The Prime Minister himself announced the determination of the government to build an all-weather highway to the Arctic in 1972 and though the completion date has been postponed indefinitely they still are I think determined to complete it to Wrigley by 1980.

But regard to the Dempster, they are reasonably close to completion at enormous expense. And to say to them now, well, you shouldn't complete this highway, but instead use it as a tote road, which I take it is a road for a limited industrial transport purposes and not open to the public, guite inconsistent with the whole policy decided upon, as you say, fifteen years ago.

MR. VEALE: Well, there also is the argument that when you've got a bad deal going, you should cut your losses, and the submission there is that the maintenance of the Dempster Highway alone is going to be well over \$1,000,000.00 a year, and in fact, the government could fly Hercules aircraft into Inuvik and supply that community quite adequately without the necessity of ever constructing the Dempster Highway.

It is just--our concern is--we realize that government policy is to complete the Dempster Highway and obviously that is something that



you may not be able to tamper with in your recommendations, sir. The fact is that we feel the project is so misconceived that the matter has to be stated clearly at sometime and it does tie in with this pipeline development in a way that causes grave concern that I think this Inquiry should address itself to.



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THE COMMISSIONER: The

relationship of the Dempster to pipeline construction across the Northern Yukon and the necessity for taking the impact of the Dempster on the herd, especially upon completion of the Dempster, into account when you are considering the impact of pipelines across the coastal route or the interior route, as the case may be. Now that I fully intend to do, and I certainly appreciate your views on the subject.

Well, fine, sorry to

interrupt you. Carry on.

MR. VEALE: I was dealing, sir, with the prime route of Arctic Gas.

The concern of the people of Old Crow about the impacts the prime route will have upon the settlement rests upon the effects that the development will have upon the Porcupine caribou herd. The Porcupine caribou herd, as has been described earlier, is the life blood of the people of Old Crow. Without the caribou the pattern of living that the people of Old Crow have known for hundreds of years would no longer be possible.

As one elderly woman in Old Crow put it "When the animals die, we die too."

It is from this perspective that we view the impact that the prime route upon the caribou and how that will affect the relationship between the people of Old Crow and the land. It is also our opinion that the people of Old Crow will suffer a variety of social and cultural costs if the prime route



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is followed in the construction of a pipeline. While we feel that these impacts will be of a lesser magnitude than they would be if the interior route were followed, we are still of the opinion that they will be significant and detrimental.

Now, Mr. Commissioner, it's clear from this position that the people of Old Crow perceive it's much easier for a skidoo to reach Old Crow from the interior route than they do from the prime route. But nonetheless the social and cultural impacts that could take place are immense.

Now, sir, I'm going to pass over much of the social impact discussion that we have had on the prime route in our brief, and turn to our conclusions.

That is on page 22. The prime route from the viewpoint of the people of Old Crow does have significant impact on the social and cultural fabric of Old Crow primarily because the calving grounds of the Porcupine caribou herd will be impacted.

Furthermore, the prime route pipeline will prejudice the Old Crow land claims settlement implementation as a result of the increased access by outsiders and increased pressure to develop Old Crow Flats. Our recommendations are as follows:

1. That no pipeline be constructed until the land claims of the Yukon Indian people and particularly the people of Old Crow have been settled and implemented.



- That no pipeline be constructed at any time on 1 the prime route of the Northern Yukon
  - 3. I've outlined before in the interior route recommendations.
  - That the principles embodied in the International Arctic Wildlife Range proposal be implemented in the areas of the Northern Yukon adjacent to Old Crow lands by representatives of the people of Old Crow with advisory representation for Federal and Territorial agencies.
  - 5. Relates to the combination of the Dempster Highway with the gas pipeline, Beaufort Sea activities which we see as detrimental to the Porcupine herd.
  - 6. That no pipeline be constructed on the prime route unless it is done by means of the construction of snow roads.
  - 7. That if the pipeline were to be constructed against the wishes of the people of Old Crow along the prime route, that a snow road test facility and research into collecting methods be undertaken on the prime route itself to demonstrate conclusively that snow roads can be constructed without environmental degradation.

Now, Mr. Commissioner, the next section we have dealt with a number of engineering and geotechnical factors which have been dealt with by a number of parties in their submissions to this Inquiry. We highlight a number of areas such as snow roads, the problems that we foresee and our lack of confidence in the research done to date.

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Secondly, we 9° into the frost heave problem and the issues that have been dealt with already by the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee. We've followed their recommendations in that regard.

Thirdly, we also deal with the problem of slope stability, and we have a number of recommendations in that regard as well.

the fourth issue that we raise, that of winter construction. That is on page 16 of Section G.

The schedule of northern construction proposed by Arctic Gas has, in our opinion, not allowed sufficient flexibility in their scheduling of winter construction to enable them to keep on their proposed schedule.

It is our view that the applicant has over-estimated manpower productivity and underestimated the number of shutdown days due to technical problems, weather conditions, and labor stoppages, and shutdowns based on environmental grounds by the monitoring agency.

The following problems will

## occur:

- . If the applicants fail to complete their North Slope construction in one season, it will require an additional summer's presence and preparation along the North Slope.
- . It will also require a second year of winter activity or in the worst case, an extension of construction into the spring for cost reasons.
  - It will mean additional impact with men moving



2 !	. The shutdown phase in late spring may only
3	come about as a result of environmental damage that
4	occurs if the winter roads deteriorate.
5	. The repeated use of an area by snow roads has
6	not been adequately assessed and we are uncertain of
-	what environmental damages would follow if a winter
8	road were to follow the same route in successive
ò	years.
10	The evidence presented
11	before this Inquiry, Mr. Commissioner, relating to
12	pump station, the gas line, the small diameter gas
13	line between pump stations No. 1 and No. 4 caused
14	us great concern. The panel presented by Arctic
15	Gas was made up of the same parties that were part of
16	the consortium that actually constructed that line.
17	The line was constructed from a snow road alongside
18	the Alyeska haul road.
19	THE COMMISSIONER: You mean
20	Arctic Constructors project?
21	MR. VEALE: That's right.
22	THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I
23	think they all conceded that it was a fiasco.
24	MR. VEALE: They conceded it
25	was a fiasco and they dismissed it, sir, because
26	they don't think it will happen again; but I am
27	submitting that the problems that occurred on that
28	project are the same problems that are going to
29	occur on the North Slope. The problem being that the
30	ditching equipment that they had on that particular

in and out of the region.



project did not work and they had to resort to

blasting. Now, blasting is the precise thing that the

applicant has indicated will occur on the North Slope

if they fail to have the famed 810 ditcher ready to

go on time. Now, if the blasting occurs, all the

problems of the catchup in backfilling and covering

up will occur and the two segments of the pipeline construction will be completely out of schedule.

They can work in the insula-

ted buildings and have their pipes welded together properly, but when they place it in the ditch and return all the spoil and so on that has been blasted across the pad, they will have the same problems that occurred on that particular project.

Mr. Commissioner, I'd now like to turn to the final segment of our presentation, and that is entitled "The national interest," page 81.

The application of greatest concern to the Council of Yukon Indians at this Inquiry is the Arctic Gas proposal which we see as essentially an American proposal to transport American natural gas through Canada. The marginal benefit to Canada of piggybacking Mackenzie Delta gas in the same pipeline has become dubious as a result of the discouraging natural gas reserves in the delta.

We feel that the Canadian national interest must be viewed both from a cost point of view as well as the alleged marginal benefit. One important aspect of the Canadian national interest is, of course, settling and implementing native land



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claims. There is more than simply a regional interest because the implications of recognizing or disregarding aboriginal title will have implications national in scope.

If the Canadian national interest is to be seriously considered, and if the regional interest of Northern Canada are to be recognized as an essential part of the national interest, then clearly them can be no pipeline.

of similar national concern is the survival of the community of Old Crow and the Porcupine caribou herd, a truly unique relationship between man and wildlife in which man has not destroyed the environment around him. Surely that harmonious relationship between man and the land for over 1,000 years should not be sacrificed for a 20 or 30-year supply of natural gas to the United States.

The argument is even more compelling when one considers the prime and interior routes are not the only avenues available to transport Prudhoe Bay natural gas to the United States. Mr. Genest enquired of me, and I advised him that the El Paso route is acceptable to the Council for Yukon Indians.

Another consideration of great concern is the tremendous American political pressure already in evidence will dictate the character and speed of the construction program. Once construction is commenced, the primary interest will be that of the American consumer in determining the ultimate cost to



be paid for the natural gas. The result is that the Canadian interest in the welfare of native people, its northern environment, and its sovereignty may be compromised in the interests of the American consumer.

Once the pipeline is constructed the bargaining power of Canada is diminished and the decision to loop the pipeline is dictated by

American consumer requirements and the available production of natural gas in Prudhoe Bay or Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4.

Furthermore, if we are correct in our assumption that complete disregard of the interests of northern natives will result in violence, the integrity of the pipeline becomes essentially in the national interest of the United States. We submit that the dollar cost to the Canadian Government over the long term of the pipeline will be substantially greater than any marginal benefits of piggybacking Canadian resources to southern markets.

Our worst fear, Mr. Commissioner, in this regard is that if the pipeline goes ahead despite the views expressed by northern native people, the Canadian Government may become a party to the project as a guarantor. The Canadian Government would then be motivated to see early completion of the line and the aspirations of native people of the north would be sacrificed for what we feel to be a misconceived national interest.

We note these self-righteous



pronouncements of Foothills counsel regarding an American controlled Arctic Gas pipeline, while his client proceeds at the same time to make application abng the Fairbanks corridor for a pipeline to be built in a time frame that prohibits anything more than a superficial assessment of that route.



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I will deal with that

timeframe later on, Mr. Commissioner. With respect to the Fairbanks corridor, we submit that the applicant Arctic Gas, has failed to give adequate analysis and consideration to alternative corridors. The Fort Yukon corridor has received relatively little attention but the Fairbanks route has become a source of considerable attention but based upon very limited research and analysis.

A great number of environmental witnesses, including consultants for the applicant, Arctic Gas, indicated that the Fairbanks corridor appeared to be environmentally less damaging. In our opinion, an adequate environmental assessment of the Fairbanks corridor has yet to be conducted. We submit that any assessment of the Fairbanks pipeline corridor must include an assessment of the Dempster Highway lateral at the outset.

It must be made clear that the Dempster Highway lateral from the Mackenzie Delta to the Fairbanks corridor will have an impact upon the Porcupine caribou herd and will be an integral part of that corridor proposal. We do not accept the view that the Dempster Highway will have already impacted the area as justification for such a pipeline routing in the same way that we do not accept the existence of the Alaska Highway as a justification for the Foothills' application along it.

I advise this Inquiry, Mr.

Commissioner, that the proposed Foothills' route in fact



1 diverges significantly in three areas--2 THE COMMISSIONER: The Fairbanks? 3 MR. VEALE: The Fairbanks. I 4 called it the Foothills' proposed route, but it diverges 5 in three different occasions substantially from the 6 highway and that --7 THE COMMISSIONER. That is 8 within the Yukon? 9 MR. VEALE: That's correct, and 10 it is precisely that reason that has been presented 11 to this Inquiry as the reason for using that highway, 12 having the alignment be very close to the highway. 13 We submit that the evidence of the caribou biologists 14 indicate that a highway alone is not the severe danger 15 to the Porcupine caribou herd, but rather the heavy traffic use of the highway which results on the impact 16 17 upon the caribou herd. 18 To the extent that a pipeline development contributes the major and heavy traffic use to the 19 Dempster Highway, we submit that the Fairbanks corridor 20 21 cannot be stated to be more acceptable from an 22 environmental viewpoint. Several witnesses have made 23 qualified endorsements of the Fairbanks corridor as being 24 environmentally less damaging upon the assumption that 25 there would be no Dempster Highway lateral from the 26 Mackenzie Delta. We submit that even this qualified 27 endorsement demonstrated -- has not been demonstrated 28 by expert opinion formulated from baseline data. 29

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In fact, there is no baseline



data on the Fairbanks corridor. There are a number of other considerations that have been urged in support of the view that the Fairbanks corridor is environmentally of less damage than the prime or interior routes.

Without reiterating the unique aspects of the prime and interior routes from a wildlife point of view the inference is made that because the Fairbanks corridor has already been impacted by the construction and use of the Alaska Highway that environmental damage will be significantly reduced. As this contention is not based upon hard fact, we cannot accept its validity. Further, this contention has absolutely no validity when one considers the social and economic impacts that will occur.

In fact, from a viewpoint of the native people living along the Alaska Highway, it is readily apparent that they are less able to withstand pipeline impacts. The stress that still remains in communities as a result of the construction of the Alaska Highway and ready access to all the communities leads us to anticipate a situation of considerable impact. The quandary for the Council for Yukon Indians is that if we are successful in preventing the social and environmental disruption to the northern Yukon, we then may be faced with the same disruption along the Alaska Highway where the majority of Yukon native people reside.

It is along the Alaska Highway that the timeframe for implementation of a land claim settlement may be the longest simply because of the



previous social and economic disruptions to Indian communities. The geographical isolation of Old Crow has been a distinct advantage to that community. The Council for Yukon Indians states that before any decision is made on the Fairbanks corridor or the Fort Yukon corridor, (a) that the Council for Yukon Indians be funded to undertake the research to provide the baseline data for all Indian communities affected by the routes including the Dempster lateral as was done in the case of Old Crow. (b) that the Council for Yukon Indians be funded to undertake a pipeline information program to inform Indian people and obtain their views and recommendations.

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(c) that community hearings and formal hearings be conducted in the southern Yukon in the same manner as in the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. (d) Finally, that the process outlined must be given the same time consideration as the interior and prime route alternatives have been given.

The timeframe for these steps to occur is in the order of three to four years. Mr. Commissioner, I was pleased to see that Arctic Gas counsel adopted this portion of our evidence, but I would add that when they're prepared to adopt it all that will be true progress.

Our submission is simply that the Fairbanks corridor is untested and should not be treated as a panacea by this Inquiry. We have studied the prime and interior route of Arctic Gas and we know the impact of the prime and interior routes will be



devastating for the Porcupine caribou herd and the community of Old Crow.

The Fairbanks route has yet to be testing through the hearing process that we are requiring. I stress, Mr. Commissioner, that the lack of time is our greatest concern along the Alaska Highway at this time. Because this Inquiry has taken place and it has been a wonderful Inquiry, I think it's done a tremendous job in the Mackenzie and the northern Yukon, the attitude prevails that we don't need to take the same amount of time along the Fairbanks corridor. That, sir, I think will be to the great detriment of Yukon Indians in particular and the Canadian national interest.

Now, Mr. Gibbs stated that with respect to the Foothills' proposal along the Mackenzie River Valley, that they take the position that no pipeline should be built until the agreement in principle has been signed. I'm encouraged by that as a step in the right direction, but I am also completely and totally dismayed by the reluctance of Mr. Gibbs on behalf of his company, to give the same recommendation for the Fairbanks route.

In Yellowknife, Foothills speaks of the Canadian national interest and the interests of native people. To date, along the Fairbanks corridor and the Alaska highway, they have simply promised to deliver domestic natural gas. I must say, Mr.

Commissioner, that with their delivery capability demonstrated to date, they don't need a pipeline.



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I would like to turn now to the single agency monitoring section. The problems which have been discussed and have developed in Alaska through the monitoring of the Alyeska Pipeline construction project indicate a number of areas that we view as critical in the monitoring of any large project.

There have been problems because there has been more than one agency involved in the monitoring process. There have been problems because their financing is accountable to the applicant. There have been problems because there has been an inability for the monitoring agencies to apply a range of sanctions up to and including shut-down sanctions. The basic conditions that need to be met through monitoring are that environmental integrity and pipeline integrity and social and economic integrity be retained through the development of the project.

In order to do this, it necessitates that the monitoring agency be able to exercise a variety of remedies. Now, we see that the basic principle could best be met by establishing a single agency which would oversee all monitoring functions. This agency would be directed by a board consisting of the land owners along the right-of-way. They would be directly responsible to a cabinet minister and the support staff for such an agency would be hired by means of a third party contract rather than create an additional bureaucratic burden upon the north.

Furthermore, we see as part of this agency an ombudsman which would have been appointed



and of which would have—who would have an appointment directly from the Parliament of Canada to ensure an airing of injustices. We also see the necessity for having native people perform the social monitoring in their community in conjunction with native

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organizations.

The single agency must be able to exercise effectively a range of remedies which would include at one end altering of the way of an individual operator and using his vehicle on the land to the other end of shutting down the entire construction project. We see it as necessary to exercise these remedies without being subjected to unnecessary political pressure.

It is our view that the scheduling of pipeline construction is of considerable less importance than the maintenance of environmental, social, economic and cultural integrity. With this in mind, we see that it is both an obligation and a responsibility for the monitoring agency to apply whatever corrective measures are necessary to ensure that damage will be averted and we see that these remedies are of greater importance than the expediency of the pipeline construction company.

We also see that this would be-that it would be the single agency that would have the
capacity to call for the funds of a performance bond
either in part or in its entirety. The remedies available to the single agency should be exercised not only
on environmental grounds but on a range of specified



social and cultural criteria. It is in these terms that the native social monitoring groups would be in a position to assess the kinds of and the extent of social and cultural impacts and recommend to the single agency the remedies that could be exercised.

Financing is another issue which is critical if such a single agency is to function effectively. It is our view that the applicant should pay the costs of monitoring but that the monitoring agency should not be directly responsible or accountable to the applicant. The applicant's monitoring payments should be placed in a central consolidated revenue fund administered by the Federal Government and the funds from this central agency would be distributed by the Federal Government.

Timing is a critical factor is assembling any monitoring agency and it is necessary that the single agency be established with sufficient lead time to enable it to perform its mandate effectively.

Mr. Commissioner, I would close this part of the submission in indicating that we do not feel that the National Energy Board will be the appropriate agency for taking on the massive job of monitoring northern development.

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Finally, Mr. Commissioner,
I turn to the section entitled "Burden Upon the
Applicants", Section L.

In this Inquiry, sir, the burden has been placed upon the native organizations to demonstrate that pipeline construction prior to settlement and implementation of their land claims will be prejudicial to those claims. We submit that the Old Crow land claims principles will be prejudiced with the building of either the interior or the prime routes of the pipeline. We submit that the impacts anticipated by the people of Old Crow will change the people, the caribou and the land, and in doing so prejudice their claims.

Of course, the burden of proof for the project rests entirely with the applicant. We submit that the applicants have not demonstrated conclusively that the technology exists for the safe construction of a gas pipeline as could be done in southern regions of Canada. The existence of permafrost and ice-rich soils has presented an obstacle that the applicants have not overcome during the many months of this Inquiry. The acknowledgment at such a late date that its tests by Arctic Gas were inadequate with respect to the solution of the frost heave problem simply highlights a major failure of the pipeline companies. The failure of the applicant to have appropriate test facilities along the Arctic slope can only lead to the conclusion that they are not confident in placing the test results



before public scrutiny. The inability of the applicant to consider the economics of the Mackenzie Valley and the Northern Yukon except in terms of being areas of economic depression highlights their misunderstanding of the social and cultural fabrics of the people of these regions.

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In our submission, the very nature and scale of the Arctic Gas project is such that they will never succeed in obtaining a positive reaction from the communities along the pipeline routing. If we view the employment benefits as creating more social and cultural problems, and in fact resulting in the Mackenzie Valley and Northern Yukon region, perhaps becoming a depressed economy when those native people who do obtain employment find themselves unable to return to their original relationship with the land before the pipeline development.

However, the lack, of social and economic benefits brought to the region is further aggravated by these social and economic costs that will be contributed by the project. It is our submission of course that these costs be borne entirely by the applicant. This must be done both pre-development impact funding and post-development impact funding regardless of government revenue obtained from the project. The development of the hinterland by the metropolis for the sole benefit of the metropolis is an economic and social process that can no longer be sanctioned. However, the assessment of social and



economic costs related to the pipeline development is in the infancy stage and we recommend that research and the construction of a model for this assessment be prepared prior to the pipeline development.

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We reiterate that in our view the construction of the gas pipeline and subsequent corridor development will have a disastrous impact upon the people and the environment of the north and will trigger a violent reaction if native rights and title are not fully recognized.

Now, Mr. Commissioner, we see that this Inquiry process that you have embarked upon as the first really positive step that the Canadian Government has taken to really and truly consult the native people north of 60. As you have said, the Inquiry has been full and fair, and you have lived up to that promise, and the advantages I feel are evident already during the Inquiry process, in that geotechnical inadequacies and failures have been pointed out, and it has also provided an excellent opportunity for the native people and non-native people of the north to come to grips with the implications of this project.

We hope, too, that the people of Southern Canada have learned through this process and that this will be evident in the consideration that the government gives to your report. Sir, I urge you to take all the time in the world to complete your report. It is a massive undertaking and pressures from all sources, whether they be Canadian, American



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or otherwise are really irrelevant to yourself in this regard because the quality of your report is clearly a very important aspect in completing this Inquiry process.

On a personal note, sir, and on behalf of the people of Old Crow, I thank you very much for conducting this Inquiry in the manner that you have.

THE COMMISSIONER : Thank you,

Mr. Veale.

MR. SCOTT: Sir, Mr. Bell is anxious to be heard today, if that can be arranged, and I think we can probably hear him.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, that can be arranged. I said that we would hear the Metis Association as well. You might speak to Mr. Bell and Mr. Hardy and see if they both want to proceed this afternoon.

Right now I'm going to take a five-minute break, though. There's more coffee.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR FIVE MINUTES)



2 :	(PPOCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)
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3	MR. SCOTT: Mr. Bell, counsel
4 '	for the Indian Brotherhood of the
5 .	Northwest Territories.
6	THE COMMISSIONER: I think we'll
	just pull ourselves together and pay attention, shall
3 <sub>:</sub>	we? Right, let's go.
4	MR. BELL: Mr. Commissioner, it
1 11	seems like only yesterday that I was standing in this
7 7	place giving my opening address to the Inquiry. You
12 %	may notice that I'm wearing the same suit. You'll
1	probably also notice a certain similarity in what
14	I'm about to say.
15	But before I begin, I want to
16 -	join all of the counsel who have spoken so far in
17	offering my appreciation for the outstanding way in
18	which you have conducted this Inquiry. It's with a
11	good deal of pride and even more gratitude that I view
20.	my association with this Inquiry. I hope it won't be
21	considered presumptuous if I also offer my congratulations
22	to Commission Counsel for a difficult task well
23 (	performed.
24 /	I wish to express also to all of
25	the counsel, both lay and professional, that I've had
26	the pleasure of working with, or against as the case
27	may be, that it has been indeed a privilege.
23 1	This pipeline project has been
29	described approvingly as one of the most massive
3.7	undertakings in Canadian history, as if magnitude itself



were a value cherished by Canadians. The Dene, on the other hand, have long been aware of the steady erosion of their universe by a variety of projects which have been erroneously described as "development". Although all of these projects have had a destructive impact on the Dene, none by themselves threatened the very survival of the Dene in the way that the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline so clearly does.

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This project is indeed massive and from a Dene perspective, genocidal in impact. If the magnitude of the project were to be accurately quantified the appropriate standard would be lives, not dollars or miles. The cost should be measured in terms of the existence of a people, a nation, and in terms of the sanctity of human rights, none of which can be assessed through the mere application of capitalist logic.

Indeed if this were not the case this Inquiry would have been unnecessary. Elsewhere in the country the erosion of community and the pervasiveness of the authority of the so-called market have made the true social cost of private investment decisions much more difficult to assess or even detect. In the Mackenzie Valley, this is clearly not the case. Here, where a majority of the population form a nation with a distinctly different history and world view, and where the development of economic classes within that majority is virtually non-exsistent the conflict between corporate decision-making and social interest is very clear.



This conflict is deepend by the fact that it is very difficult to cloak the proposed pipeline in the guise of the Canadian public interest, since it is motivated primarily by non-Canadian concerns.

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For the Dene, therefore, it is the decision-making process itself which must be the primary concern of this Inquiry. It is the well-substantiated position of the Dene, as an aboriginal nation occupying the Mackenzie Valley, that no condition governing the implementation of this project approaches the significance of recognizing their national rights.

Furthermore, while the Dene are aware of the variety of political interests involved in the pipeline issue, they do not believe that the value accorded to so fundamental an issue as their right to self-determination should be subject to a manipulated public opinion which is so often a determining force in the allocation of national resources.

The Dene have consistently regarded this Inquiry as a unique and fortunate event in the course of their struggle to reassert their national rights. They have indicated by their participation in their hundreds the importance they attach to your task. Not since the time of the treaties have the Dene expressed their faith in the people of Canada in an equivalent fashion.

It was not to quibble over the terms and conditions governing the construction of a pipeline that the Dene have come to this Inquiry. It was



to seize the opportunity, not afforded in your absence, to have their most fundamental human rights recognized in what might otherwise have been a mere economic equation.

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Dene that your Inquiry will accept the challenge their national existence poses to the people of Canada, the challenge of placing this country unambiguously amongst those societies which prize human rights far above mere economic values, the challenge of redeeming the appalling history of this country's treatment of its aboriginal peoples, the challenge of dealing with the Dene as a people with political rights and not as an obstacle to be overcome by the application of more money and more power.

If the challenge before this
Inquiry is taken up, the implications will extend far
beyond Canadian borders. The Dene have explicitly
linked their struggle with that of aboriginal peoples
the world over. Many of these people will never have
the opportunity even to make their case known because
of the repressive conditions under which they are
forced to exist.

A commitment by the people of

Canada to recognize the rights of the Dene will

therefore establish a precedent of vital importance

to the struggles of all aboriginal peoples. In fact,

we have recently learned that the Dene declaration has

been translated into Portuguese and Spanish and is

being distributed to people in Brazil and other countries



in Latin America.

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In our argument today we do not propose to engage in a detailed review of the evidence. 4 1 We do intend to present to you our view of the major propositions and conclusions which the evidence supports and we will do this in the following manner:

First, we will offer an analysis of the history of the Dene with emphasis on their recent experience with colonialism. We will draw out the implications of colonialism in every sphere of Dene life; economic, political and cultural, implications which can only be characterized as cultural genocide. We will show how, in spite of the deleterious inroads of colonialism. Dene culture has continued to survive and how the Dene have resisted the assaults of colonialism.

This will lead us to an examination of the awakening of the national consciousness among the Dene and its expression in the Dene rights position recently presented to the Government of Canada. We will elaborate on the main tenets of that position and the support they find in the evidence before this Inquiry.

In short, the Dene seek, in that position, recognition of their right to self-determination within Confederation and the establishment of the necessary institutions, legal protections and official practices which will give full effect to that right.

It is this position, which has been mislabled a "land claim", on which the Dene seek



to obtain agreement with the people of Canada, and it is this position which we maintain will be prejudiced by the prior approval and construction of the proposed pipeline.

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The Dene rights position must involve a review of the issue of development, how development should be defined and the vision of alternatives to colonialism that is perceived by the Dene.

Next we will turn to the impact of the proposed pipeline and delineate in specific terms how it would fit into and accelerate the colonial process in the Northwest Territories.

Before concluding with our formal request for recommended terms and conditions, a short comment will be made on the arguments of other participants including the guestion of the burden of proof.

I want to turn now to a brief review of Dene history. The Dene have occupied the area now known as the Mackenzie District for hundreds, and possibly thousands of generations, since time immemorial. Through these thousands of years, the Dene, a people, a nation, decided for themselves how they would live. They developed their own values and their own understanding of the world. They developed their own languages and laws, and based their actions on their own laws and understanding of the world. Both before and after the arrival of the European the Dene were a nation determining their own destiny.



However, non-Dene with different values, different languages, different laws have come onto traditional Dene lands and invaded Dene society. Rather than live together in peace as they promised, the non-Dene have actively tried to force the Dene to think, act and become like the non-Dene. Rather than recognize the Dene rights as owners of the land, as they promised, non-Dene have taken resources from the land for their own profit.

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Rather than recognize the right to self-determination of the Dene, as they promised, non-Dene have taken power from the Dene, judged the Dene to be inferior and have attempted to control and make decisions for the Dene nation. What has happened is much worse than the fraudulent expropriation of land and resources. What has happened is the theft of the history and humanity of a people. This is cultural genocide. The process through which it has occurred is colonialism.

This process was set in motion long before the treaties of 1899 and 1921. It began with the earliest intrusion of the European into Dene territory. The first milestone in the process of colonialism was reached in 1789 when, after the Dene had shown Alexander Mackenzie the way down to the Arctic Ocean, Deh-cho, the great river, was renamed to Mackenzie. This ethnocentric arrogance has been the persistent underlying feature of non-Dene attitudes and actions for two hundred years.



in every aspect of Dene life. 2 . In the early days of European contact the fur trade was the primary way in which 3 ! 4 1 the Dene and non-Dene related to each other. The traders on the Dene for their survival, both in terms 5 of food and the fur which kept them in business. 6 turn, the Dene became dependent on the traders for 7 8 1 traps, for basic provisions like tea and flour, and for other items such as axes and guns. Originally. these goods were purchased by the Dene through the 1.7 ... barter of food and fur. But by the end of the 12 nineteenth century money had become the medium of exchange. As long as the traders were 14 . dependent on the Dene for food and fur, the Dene 151 1.6 commanded respect. Improvements and transportation 17 to the north in the late nineteenth century allowed the 18 traders to import their food supplies and the balance 19 . of dependency between trader and trapper began to 20 1 21 shift. The Dene's dependency on the cash sector was further enhanced by the availability of a wider range 23 of trade goods. White trappers soon began to 24 1 enter the upper Mackenzie region in large numbers. With 25 the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company broken, fierce 26 competition and reckless trapping led to the depletion 27 of game in some areas. Restrictive game laws also 23 interfered with the ability of the Dene to gain their 29

livelihood as trappers and hunters.



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These developments were resisted by the Dene even to the point of a boycott of the 1920 treaty days at Fort Resolution. I think Chief Drygeese's statement to the Indian agent at that time is instructive. He said,

"Do you remember what you promised us before?
Why do you change now? You gave us money and
paper. Now you want to change the law. We
will give back all the money. You can't pay to be
boss of us...Why do you tell us how to run our
land? We did not give it to you...All my
people will claim this land as their own and
it will not be taken away from them."

Following a relatively stable period during the '20s and '30s the fur market which was controlled by forces and agencies not amenable to Dene influence, collapsed after the Second World War. This was accompanied by an astronomical rise in the prices of trade goods. Having started from a position of equality, the Dene were left in considerable need. The balance of dependency in the cash sector of their economy shifted almost totally against the Dene.

But the Dene did not stop bush collection and living off the land, for these activities provided and continue to provide an important source of food and clothing as well as an essential support for Dene values and culture.

It is essential to understand the relationship between Dene culture and bush collection. Life on the land is the source and support



of the dominant Dene values. These include mutual sharing of bush resources, a respect for hard work and industriousness, and a desire for independence and self-reliance.

That these values are alive and thriving, despite the impositions of colonialism, is amply borne out by the testimony at the community hearings as well as by the study of the importance of country produce conducted by the people of Fort Franklin and presented here by Mr. Rushforth.

I want to digress briefly at this point, Mr. Commissioner, and refer to a recommendation in Commission Counsel's submission that a system be established under government auspices to measure the actual quantity and value of food production, country food production for the region. I fear that this suggestion reveals a failure on our part to get the point across as far as the Fort Franklin study is concerned.

The purpose of that study was

## twofold:

- (1) To demonstrate that official statement s about the continuing importance of country food were unreliable, and more importantly,
- (2) To show to the non-Dene what the Dene already know, that Dene culture is a living developing phenomena which cannot be quantified by measuring the monetary value of country produce.

We wonder, therefore, what purpose would be served in the implementation of



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 Commission Counsel's recommendation that would justify the invasions of privacy and harassment such a system would necessarily entail?

The period following the Second World War saw the commencement of massive governmental intrusion into the economic life of the Dene, primarily as a source of cash in the form of transfer payments, and employment, but also as the instigator of non-renewable resource development.

The fur trade had drained away economic surplus produced by the Dene, thereby underdeveloping the north and enabling the Hudson's Bay Company to build its empire elsewhere in Canada and in places like racist Namibia. But the fur trade did not demand that the Dene give up their land, nor did it result in the influx of non-Dene settlers in large numbers with their political and cultural baggage. It did not require the Dene to sell their labor for wages, nor did it directly endanger the renewable resource base.

However, in the transition of the regional economy from a reliance on one major staple (fur) to a reliance on another major staple (mineral, including petroleum) all of these now become very real threats, and the process of colonialism is intensified.

If the Government of Canada ever gave any thought to the revival of the fur trade or to the strengthening of the renewable resource



sector, it was quickly forgotten in the obsession with non-renewable resource extraction. As a result of the expansion 3 of the non-renewable resource sector the THE COMMISSIONER. Would 5 you repeat that last sentence? 6 MR. BELL: I said that if the Government of Canada ever gave any thought to 8 revival of the fur trade or to strengthening the 0 renewable resource sector, that it was quickly for-10 gotten in their obsession with non-renewable 17 resource extraction. 12 As a result of the expansion of the non-renewable resource sector, the gross 14 domestic product per capita in the Northwest Terri-15 tories far exceeds the corresponding figure for Canada 16 as a whole. But colonial control has meant that the 17 sizeable economic rents produced from mining and 18 hydrocarbon extraction are not used in the region to 19 benefit the renewable resource sector upon which the 27 Dene relv. 21 Moreover, the non-renewable 22 resource sector has also damaged the physical base of 23 the renewable sector. 24 Because activity in the 25 non-renewable sector is invariably initiated and 26 controlled by outside agencies and corporations the 27 economic rents are drained out for investment elsewhere,

Dene property rights -- their rights as landlords to

receive royalties and to set conditions on industrial

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 activity -- have been ignored by the corporations and by the government. But this is characteristic of a colonial economy and a colonial mentality.

The growth of the nonrenewable resource sector brought an influx of nonDene settlers aided and encouraged by the Federal
Government and its local colonial establishment, the
Government of the Northwest Territories. The needs of
these settlers combined with the assumption of racial
and cultural superiority led to the imposition of
non-Dene political institutions, a non-Dene educational
system, and a host of nther non-Dene authorities
including those which control housing, health, and
social assistance.

Dene political institutions were over-ridden, ignored and replaced. The process whereby non-Dene institutions of local government were introduced has been well-documented before this Inquiry, as has the fact that these bodies are controlled by and serve the interests of non-Den e settlers, even where the Dene may constitute a majority on the local council. Of course, the Territorial Council is merely the same process writ large, and the Government of the Northwest Territories cannot even pretend to be anything other than the local agent of the central non-Dene government.

Now despite the challenges of systems of government which reflect values opposed to or divergent from those of the Dene, the



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 Dene method of collective decision-making continues to thrive. It is a political system which gives expression to the dominant values of Dene cultures. The need for the entire community to share in the fortune, good or ill, of its members, respect for wisdom tested by time, the need to involve everyone in making decisions which affect the welfare of the entire community, and respect for the autonomy of individuals within the community. The consensus method of decision-making is the usual form that this system takes.

None of the non-Dene
political institutions are able to give expression to
these values. They serve only to confuse, mislead and
obstruct the pursuit of these values. The colonial
political system makes decisions for and about the
Dene, but it does not allow the Dene to make decisions
for themselves. This Inquiry has heard time and
again both in the community hearings and in this
hall evidence of the disregard shown by the colonizers
for the rights of the Dene. We have seen how the
non-Dene governments have tried to disguise this fact
through half-hearted efforts at consultation with the
Dene. We have also seen how transparently absurd
they have rendered the honest attempts of the Dene
to participate in and co-operate with these systems

has been done in the economic and political aspects of Dene life, but for the most insidious, the most pervasive, the most soul-destroying attack on Dene

Much damage to Dene culture



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languages, history and values, as well as on individual autonomy and self-respect, we must look to the system of compulsory public schooling which was instituted in the 1950s.

No doubt your memory calls up, as does mine, the faces and voices of the young men and women who appeared before you to describe the terror of being torn from their families at the age of five or six to spend ten months a year for the next ten years in a government hostel, the degrading punishments endured for the crime of speaking their own language, the denial of Dene values and history, the inculcation of a foreign culture and the inevitable feelings of inferiority and worthlessness, the undermining of personal autonomy and the fostering of dependence on authority. (This is the process that has produced what Arctic Gas and its witnesses blithely refer to as "change").



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The recent history of the

Dene is a story of struggle, the struggle of a people

for self-determination and against colonial control,

for national survival and against cultural genocide.

This struggle is a part of Dene culture, and it is

given graphic form in the set of maps which were

presented by the Dene to this Inquiry. You will recall

that they took up a sizable part of the wall behind

me here. I want to say, I want to emphasize what the

meaning of these maps is. I think it's essential to

understand them as a representation of a culture, a

web of relationships among the Dene, and between the

Dene and their land, which constitute a way of life.

The maps record the actions of self-determining Dene as well as the impact of colonialism. They record, on the one hand, the extent of Dene activity on the land when colonial impact was negligible, and, on the other, the effects of more recently externally imposed factors such as compulsory schooling, settlement-based services, and non-Dene concepts of development.

"land use", and there are those who have criticized them for not being like the kind of maps that they are used to, the kind which are designed to show the commodity value and the uses of land. Such criticism derives from a colonial perspective, which requires the colonized to explain themselves in the terms of the colonizer. It assumes that the present status of the Dene Nation is the product of the exercise of



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free choice on the part of the Dene and therefore that colonialism will continue. But it is the struggle against colonialism that these maps portray.

The maps also establish the factual basis of aboriginal title, but just as the Fort Franklin country food study was not intended to establish criteria by which life on the land could be quantified, the maps do not convey any notion of relative land values which might lend themselves to quantification for compensation purposes. The Dene universe portrayed through these maps is invaluable.

Furthermore, since the Dene universe clearly involves the element of control implicit in the right of national self-determination, the impact of any proposed development on the lands of the Dene cannot be measured on the basis of its conflict with discrete land use, but must be assessed on the basis of the extent to which it undermines the security of Dene rights and the Dene universe they are meant to protect.

I want now to turn our attention to the Dene rights position.

Most of the threats to the Dene way of life presented by colonialism were introduced piecemeal and over a period of years. Although there was resistance, it was not well organized. But near the end of the 1960's and coincidental with the early hay-day of petroleum exploration, the movement for decolonization and self-determination began in earnest.



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Northwest Territories was founded in 1971 and immediately began to assert that land claims, as they were then called, be settled prior to any major projects going forward in the Mackenzie District. In 1973 the Caveat Case was started in the Supreme Court of the Northwest Territories. At Fort Good Hope in 1974 the Dene asserted that they wanted their rights as a people recognized, not

extinguished. A year later at Fort Simpson the

as a struggle for self-determination.

Dene Declaration further clarified the Dene position

The Indian Brotherhood of the

Such formal acts are only indications of the broader struggle for decolonization now under way among the Dene, and which proves conclusively that Dene culture is alive and developing.

To refer to this phenomenon as a resurgence of pride as has been done by Arctic Gas is a faint reflection of the true picture. It is a political movement. It is however, accurate to say that it is not going to go away.

The movement for selfdetermination received its most recent expression on
October 25, in the presentation to the Government of
Canada of the Dene's proposed Agreement in Principle
for the recognition of their rights.

The main tenants of the Dene Rights position, as it has been presented to the Government of Canada and to the Inquiry are as follows:



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- 1. The Dene have the right to recognition, selfdetermination growth and development as a people and as a nation.
- 2. The Dene as aboriginal people, have a special status under the constitution of Canada.
- 3. The Dene, as aboriginal people, have the right to retain ownership of so much of their traditional lands, and under such terms, as to ensure their independence and self-reliance, traditionally, economically and socially, and the maintenance of whatever other rights they have.
- 4. The definition of the Dene is the right of the Dene. The Dene know who they are.
- 5. The Dene have the right to practice and preserve their languages, traditions, customs and values.
- 6. The Dene have the right to develop their own institutions and enjoy their rights as a people in the framework of their own institutions.
- 7. To accomplish these ends, there must be within Confederation a Dene government, with jurisdiction over a geographical area and over subject matters now within the jurisdiction of either the Government of Canada or the Government of the Northwest Territories.

I would like to indicate now the sources drawn on by the Dene for support in this position and to delineate the issues it raises.

To begin with, the Dene are a distinct people, a nation within the accepted meaning of that term, and they have occupied an identifiable territory since time immemorial. They



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have not surrendered any of their rights. The evidence of these facts is not disputed before this Inquiry.

The Dene have legal rights of ownership (property rights), in the land they have traditionally occupied. They have called for the conversion of this "aboriginal title" into a form compatible with the Euro-Canadian legal system. They have rejected any suggestion that the extinguishment of their property rights would be acceptable.

While the Courts may be able to give legal recognition to the existence of aboriginal title, they cannot convert it into a form needed by the Dene. That can only be done through legislation.

The Treaties 8 and 11, the written versions of which purport to support aboriginal title to the Crown, do not reflect the actual agreements reached between the Dene and the Crown. The Dene signatures on those treaties, when not forged, were induced by fraudulent misrepresentations on the part of the government negotiators.

The property rights of the Dene still exist. But the notion of aboriginal rights includes more than mere property rights. International law recognizes important human rights, and these rights are legal rights, not just moral imperatives.

The most important of these is the right to self-determination. Arcticle 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966, states:



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" All peoples have the right to self-determination.

By virtue of that right they freely determine
their political status and freely pursue
their economic, social and cultural
development."

Arcticle 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights recognizes the right of minorities to enjoy their own culture.

Although the Covenant has not been signed by Canada, the principle is one recognized by customary international law, and is thus binding on Canada. The basic prerogative of a distinct people to maintain their cultural identity is also recognized in the Genocide Convention.

Not only is the Dene's position based firmly on existing legal rights, as we have seen, it is also a position that falls squarely within the letter and spirit of the Canadian Constitution.

The formal creation of a Dene territory is entirely within the legislative competence of Parliament. All that would be required is some ingenuity in working out the details of the powers, land area, and constitution of the Dene Nation — the final design as the engineers would call it. These would be the major items for negotiation between the Dene and the people of Canada.



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Constitution itself is the expression of the desire of Canadians to permit the collective well-being

Indeed, the Canadian

of distinct national groups within the federal state.

Moreover, the principle of regional autonomy (in the

form of provincial jurisdiction) is also an essential element of the Canadian Constitution.

The correctness and validity of the Dene rights position also finds support in the experience of colonized peoples elsewhere in the world.

special relationship with the land and the environment they inhabit, a relationship that is religious in quality and which forms the foundation of their view of themselves as distinct peoples and nations. The evidence shows that when this special relationship with the land is disturbed by outside forces there follows a variety of destructive social phenomena -- alcoholism, crime, family breakdown, poverty -- which become the permanent affliction of the community. Colonized people everywhere exhibit these reactions to colonialism.

This has happened in Canada
whenever Indian land was expropriated and turned over
to uses -- to other uses without first evolving adequate
political institutions to ensure the survival of
native peoples. The opening of the west to settlement
and agriculture is a good example. The clear-cutting
of timber over large tracts of Indian land in British



Columbia is another.

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Elsewhere in the world this analysis is confirmed. In Australia, New Zealand and Latin America the disruption of their relationship with the land has brought ruin on native peoples. One need not go so far as to require evidence of man-made atrocities in Brazil to see that the Amerindians have suffered. It is not guns and disease which are the primary causes of the long-term disruption of aboriginal peoples in that country, it is the transformation of the land into mines, roads, plantations and pastures.

(The fact that some native groups here and there have managed to survive in an attenuated form is more a testament to the tenacity of native cultures than a vindication of colonial policies).

There are other lessons to be learned from the experience of natives and other colonized peoples. From James Bay the experience of the Cree tells us that to proceed with massive developments before native rights have been recognized will prejudice those rights and lead to an imposed solution. Negotiations in which one party is subjected to undue pressure by the other result in bad agreements. In the case of James Bay we see an agreement the primary features of which are the surrender of Indian control over the land and the transformation of the land to a use unwanted by the Cree and inconsistent with their whole way of life.



have seen their reserve lands flooded by a hydro development project. The Federal Government, protector of the Indian interest, stood by and watched. The lessons are clear. Mere property rights are not enough to protect Indian lands from the encroachments of industrial society, and the Dene cannot rely on the Federal Government to provide any protection.

Therefore the Dene must have political control, and they must rely on themselves.

From Alaska the Dene have learned many lessons. Among them that they must have their rights recognized while they are still a majority in the Mackenzie District; that the hierarchical corporate form of organization is inappropriate to the achievement of the values prized by the Dene; that even if the project is postponed until after a settlement, it is still difficult to get the kind of settlement preferred by native people when faced with the power of the petroleum industry.

examples which provide positive support for the

Dene position. We can look to the Third World for a

compelling example. The period since World War II

has seen the dramatic rise in nationalism in the

Third World. The concept of the nation and the political reality of nationalism have proved to be the most

effective tools for resisting continued European hegemony

in colonized areas of the world. The nation seems to

provide a framework large enough and focussed enough



within which to realize the goals of people.

In New Zealand we find as George
Manual put it, clues that a greater degree of
political autonomy (which remains at a token level in
that country) leads to the enhancement of national
culture.

The evidence of Dr. Sam Stanley in its examination of economic development in Indian communities shows in one dimension the achievements a people may be capable of when exercising control over their economic life.

The assertion of the right to self-determination by the Dene is therefore a condition which seems to be necessary, reasonable and feasible. But can we be more explicit about the vision of the future the Dene hold for themselves?

Suppose self-determination were achieved, what would the Dene do with it?

In other words, what path would development follow in a Dene territory? It is of course impossible to predict with certainty the exact form development would assume, but already the Dene are trying to formulate their ideas about the type of alternative development they want to pursue and to identify the principles on which to proceed.

A statement worked out at an Indian Brotherhood workshop of regional field workers in October of 1974 is suggestive. It is entitled,

"What does development mean for the Indian people of the Mackenzie District?"



1 And it answers that question this way: It means development by the community rather 2 than by outsiders. 3 It means not participating, even as workers. 1 in activities you cannot control 5 . It means getting expertise when it is needed in 6 the form of short-term technical assistance without 7 giving up ownership. 8 It means long-term planning and priorities. a It means continuity with the past, by complementing 10 and reinforcing traditional pursuits, and by drawing 11 on the community's experience. 12 . It means communities relating to each other, 13 regionally and for the Mackenzie District as a whole. 14 . It means a process which unites and builds up 15 the community's sense of self and the sense of self of 16 all its members. 17 . It means that development is implemented in a 18 way that fits the Dene way of doing things (which is 19 not the same as the government's way or the companies' 20 way). 21 It means learning by doing, so that development 22 becomes an ongoing, self-reinforcing process 23 It means greater economic independence and greater 24 political autonomy. 25

. It means maintaining an egalitarian and sharing

. It means growth in Dene communities .. not only

. It means setting an example for Canada.

29 economic development but cultural, social, political, 30

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society.



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and spiritual development, and the sum is greater than the parts.

In more concrete terms it is highly probable that a self-determining Dene nation would seek to give effect to those values which were earlier mentioned in association with the cultural significance of bush collection. Economic developmen t is likely to be based on renewable resource harvesting through projects that are community-initiated and controlled and operated on a scale appropriate to the size of the community.

The movement toward a Dene system of education also provides some indication of the values which Dene development will try to implement. Its primary goal is to permit the development of autonomous individuals who are in close touch with their culture, and who are aware of the choices they make and accept responsibility for those choices. The daily content of the system flows out and supports Dene culture. Non-mene experts are subject to the direction of the Dene. There is ideally no bureaucracy.

I might add that many of these

are also the values expressed in the daily operation of the Indian Brotherhood.

It is not unrealistic to expect that a Dene nation with freedom and power to do so would seek to give effect to those values in every sphere of life.

I want to turn now to a brief discussion on the impact of the proposed pipeline.



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During the presentation of evidence by our witnesses many made specific allusion to the proposed pipeline and how it would prejudice the Dene position. I do not think it necessary to reiterate all of those statemen ts at this time, although we do adopt them.

I would like to summarize the various components of pipeline impact which, if it were to be approved prior to recognition of Dene rights, would entrench and accelerate the process of colonialism.

In the economic sphere the

A pipeline would lead to an influx of non-Dene who will find it easy to participate in and control the existing imposed political institutions. Nor would it take hordes of settlers to do that. The present system gives to non-Dene influence not warranted by numbers alone. The non-Dene values expressed in these institutions would be bolstered by the provision of tax revenues for the use of these colonial institutions. Much emphasis was made by Mr. Genest on the importance of tax revenues and royalties from the pipeline. The portrayal of the pipeline as a source of revenue is a picture of a negative impact because it will make the colonizers even more powerful and more difficult to dislodge.

Any social dislocations caused by this massive project would produce a corresponding need for the services of non-Dene experts to man the



official bureaucracies. Thus the strength and size of the existing colonial agencies will be enhanced and the struggle for self-determination will be made that much more difficult.

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1	It is clear that the Dene do
2 1	not want to see a pipeline constructed down the Mackenzi
3	Valley. To impose a pipeline on the Dene before their
4 !	right to define themselves as recognized is to demonstra
5	to them that they are not going to be allowed to make
6	their own future.
7	This will constitute a serious
8	setback for the motivation of individuals to overcome
9	their colonial conditioning. It will embolden those
0	non-Dene who feel it is their prerogative to define the
1	Dene and to make decisions for them.
2	Moveover, to push this project
. 3	through against the wishes of the vast majority of the
4	Dene will inevitably result in enervating divisions
15;	among them.
L6 !	The basic human rights delineated
17	earlier are part and parcel of the Dene position. If
18	they are violated, the Dene rights position is damaged
19	beyond compensation.
20	In a strictly legal sense, the
21	Dene position would be unacceptably prejudiced for the
22	reasons given by Mr. Sanders as it relates to a system
23	of conversion of aboriginal title to a type compatible
24	with the dominant legal system.
25	The pipeline will engage the
26	Dene, at least it will attempt to engage the Dene,
27 "	in a type of employment and a project whose organization

and purpose does not only fail to reflect the dominant

values of Dene society but is plainly antithetical

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to them.



Finally, since the Dene position

is fundamentally about the right to decide what happens

on Dene land, that right would be irretrievably

prejudiced by a decision made unilaterally by government

5 to permit this pipeline to proceed.

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I would like now to offer some comments on argument and evidence of other participants. I would first like to deal with Commission Counsel's submission. While we recognize the job of Commission Counsel is to take into consideration all possible options and advise you accordingly, we cannot do the same. The Dene have stated quite clearly that they are unwilling to participate in any discussion that assumes that the pipeline will be built prior to the recognition of their national rights.

Furthermore, it has been the opinion of the Dene that construction of the proposed pipeline in the absence of such recognition and with insufficient time for the Dene to reconstruct their own political and social institutions would amount to an act of genocide. The Dene cannot reasonably be expected to give advise as to the least messy way to accomplish this end. This view has been expressed to you directly by the Dene in the community hearings and is supported by expert witnesses relating evidence of experience elsewhere.

Therefore, while we are relatively satisfied with Commission Counsel's attempt to understand the primary question of the national rights of the Dene, and I think that may be an under-



statement, we must reject the remainder of the submission in which the recommendations are premised on construction of a pipeline in the absence of recognition of Dene 4 3 rights. 5 Quite simply, it is our opinion 5 that the two portions of Commission Counsel's submission are contradictory and that the latter recommendations 8 : are based on assumptions that the Dene cannot accept. At this point, I want to make 10 ! a suggestion concerning the matter in which this 11 contradiction ought to be dealt with in your report, 124 sir. It is our respectful submission that the contra-13: diction ought to be recognized openly and that the 7.4 two scenarios, with colonialism and without colonialism 15 .. ought to be treated separately, and in a way which 16 emphasizes the pre-eminence of the self-determination 17 .. issue. 18 I'd also, at this point, join 191 with Mr. Bayly and Mr. Veale in stressing that your task is too important for your final report to be 20 1 anything but the best. I want to turn now to some points 21 that have been made by the applicants and the producers. 22 13 But before dealing with specific points of contention between ourselves and the applicants 24 1 and producers, I think it would be useful to consider 25 the question of the burden of proof in this Inquiry, 26 at least as it relates to the issue of the settlement 27 " 33 } of native claims. Is the burden on the Dene to 29

prove that their position will be intolerably prejudiced



if a right-of-way is granted prior to an agreement with the Government of Canada? 3: Or, is the burden on the applicants to show that a prior grant of right-of-way would not unduly prejudice the Dene position? 5 6 Although the Dene have conducted their case as if the onus were on them to prove prejudice because in the absense of a ruling on this 2 question it would have been imprudent to do otherwise nevertheless it is our submission that the onus ought 10 to be on the applicants to prove no prejudice. 1.1 The criteria of international 12 13 law give us some guidance on this issue. In international 14 law interpretations are required to be made in favor of dependent weaker peoples who are asserting rights 15 such as the right to enjoyment of their culture. The 16 rationale for this is found in the irreversible nature 17 of the loss at risk, namely cultural or linguistic 18 19 identity. Once lost it cannot be recovered: nor can the loss be compensated for. 20 il On the basis of these criteria 21 then the burden on proving no prejudice must rest 22 squarely with the applicants. We submit that this burden 23 has not been discharged. Indeed, I think Foothills 24 1 has conceded as much. 25 T would like now to turn to some 26 of the arguments that were offered the other day by Mr. 27 Genest. Concerning Mr. Ruttan's evidence about the 23 !

prospects for an economy based on renewable resources,

Mr. Genest had this to say:

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3 "The evidence is quite clear that this type of economy cannot provide enough jobs to reduce significantly the existing unemployment rate 4 1 and absorb the jobs lost because of a reduction in oil and gas activity". Sir, I think this proposition is essential to the Arctic Gas case. I think it's also a proposition that runs contrary to the evidence. only evidence on the record suggests that an economy based on the renewable resources is feasible. I refer to Mr. Ruttan's evidence. 110 12 | Mr. Genest also commented on evidence that was offered by Mr. Watkins concerning the 13 ; need for capitalization money where it was suggested 14 that it could be, that the non-renewable sector would 15 be a source for this kind of funding and Mr. Genest 16. said if the postponement of a pipeline or the indefinite 17 delay or a pipeline or no pipeline at all is the 18 scenario that will occur there will not be that 19. non-renewable sector, at least not for some years." 20 1 Well, I wonder if the author 2.1 of that statement has read the transcript. There was an active and very lucrative non-renewable sector in the N. W. T. long before Arctic Gas came into existence. 24 1

domestic product of the Northwest Territories.

It is required, therefore, it is not royalties from a pipeline, but simply fair com-

which are major contributors to the extraordinary gross

It now exists quite independently of the proposed

pipeline. It is the mining and petroluem industries

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pensation for the fortunes that have already been ripped out of Dene land. Mr. Genest also contended that we should assess the cost of not building the pipeline. 4 1 He said that without a pipeline, there may not be a 5 . settlement of native claims because there will be no incentive for the government to come to a settlement. Yet, they also argue that a 8 : pipeline can be built before a settlement is reached. Well, surely the government's incentive to settlewill be exactly the same in both situations. Once it is 11 1 built the incentive will be gone. If it's not built, 12 1 the incentive will not be there. 13 The only difference will be that 14 in the case where a pipeline is built native peoples 15. will have to fight the consequences of a pipeline at the same time as they are trying to pursue a settlement. 16 . 17 In any case, even without a pipeline, the same things that motivated the government 18 ! to negotiate Treaties 8 and 11 will still be there. 19 1 The gas will still be there, the minerals will still 20 be there and the demands of the multi-nationalists 21 show no signs of abating. If the risk of not building 22 ! a pipeline will be as Arctic Gas claims then the Dene 23 24: are willing to take the chance. It was also suggested by Arctic 25 Gas that the Dene deny the sovereignty of Parliament. 25 1 Apart from being a serious misrepresentation of the 27 Dene position, I think this is essentially a bogus issue. 23 " The Dene are not seeking to replace Parliament as the 29 . final arbiter of the national interests. They are 30 .



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only seeking the power to insist that the Government of Canada take the legitimate interests of the Dene into account when the national interest is being determined.



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That's the function that's served by provincial jurisdiction. The experience of this country demonstrates the need for such minority protections, such special protections. because the danger is that the Government of Canada will equate the majority interest or even the regional interest of the most powerful region with the national interest and there is no necessary equation of the two. That is why we have institutions and jurisdictions which give minorities the clout to insist on the recognition of their interests.

At the present time no such institutions or jurisdictions exist through which to accomplish this aim for the Dene.

Of course it can always be said that even with these protections it remains possible for Parliament to decide that in the national interest cultural minorities must be sacrificed. Well, apart from the fact that it's difficult for me at least to conceive of any situation in which the national interest would be served by a derogation under principles under which this country was founded, I think we also ought to bear in mind that international law requires that all nations respect and give effect to the right of dependent minorities to retain their autonomy and cultural integrity. All the Dene are asking the Government of Canada is that it obey the law. I don't think that's asking for anything unreasonable.

I would like to turn to an



aspect of the evidence that has been produced by both of the applicants and it's our submission that the assumptions upon which this evidence is based are so unfounded as to render their evaluation of the socio-economic impact of the proposed pipeline virtually useless.

The major flaw in their socio-economic evidence is the failure to acknowledge the existence of colonialism in the Northwest Territories and the consequent assumption (although unarticulated) that the colonial relationships now in existence will continue indefinitely.

I think upon examination

we see that this failing is based on even a more

fundamental error, and that is the refusal to recognize

that the Dene are a distinct people. The implicit

denial of this fact permeates all of the socio-economic

evidence of both applicants.

By characterizing the colonial impositions of the recent past as undifferentiated change, they fail to deal with the involuntary nature of this change; indeed, it is assumed by the applicants to be voluntary. Yet the question of voluntariness is crucial to understanding the recent history of the Dene and their demand for an end to change over which they have no control.

To take just one example of the absurdities that this can lead to, we need only examine Arctic Gas' assertion that what native people in the Mackenzie District want is wage employment;

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they say more and more young people prefer it. They say there appears to be nothing on the horizon which can provide wage employment in sufficient quantity to satisfy the demand except the pipeline.

Well, I say this. Evidence of preferences among the Dene for wage employment must rely on very skimpy data. Nevertheless, the question of preferences cannot be assessed without accounting for intense colonial conditioning over the last 20 years, especially among the present generation of young adults and juveniles, and this accounting has not been done. If the Dene had had control over their economy and education systems during this period would there be today an overwhelming preference for wage employment, especially on a If we look at that area of the economy pipeline? that the Dene do control, bush collection, wage employment functions primarily as a supplementary source of cash which is used to facilitate bush collection.

Furthermore, it is likely, given Dene control of their economy, that preferences would be for gainful activity that incorporates dominant values of Dene culture. It is clear that these values are not enhanced or even reflected by wage employment in the petroleum industry as it operates at present. The applicants have completely failed to deal with these questions.

By failing to acknowledge the existence of colonialism the applicants have not been able to assess accurately the degree to which



their project would contribute to the process of colonialism. This is the fundamental error upon which their argument on expropriation proceeds. By failing to account for colonialism, and failing to recognize the Dene as a distinct people, they see the pipeline's impact solely as if it were a street-widening in a southern city. The impact of the pipeline is on a way of life, a culture for which there can never be any adequate monetary compensation.

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Indeed, the quality of argument presented by the applicants and producers on the central issue of the rights of the Dene is so inadequate as not to merit much more comment on our part. But there is one further argument which needs to be dealt with.

It is the submission on behalf of Gulf Oil Canada, Imperial Oil and Shell Canada Resources, which was distributed to the participants earlier. We believe it best exemplifies the incredible hypocrisy of the petroleum industry. In the submission referred to, the suggestion that the Dene might seek to hold the rest of the country to ransom wins the prize for sheer audacity.

Coming from the people who reassured the Canadian public only a short time ago of continued cheap energy, only to turn around and reap the benefits of their dishonesty at our expense, coming from the people who brought Britain to its knees, who took Angola for a ride, and who earned a ransom to beat all ransoms from the Arab oil embargo, coming



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from interests whose allegiance to the people of this country is measured by nothing more than the ease with which they can rape its resources, this slur upon the Dene is brave to say the least.

The charge that the Dene seek to ransom the country is also a reflection of the sick world from which it emanated. If, after all the evidence presented directly to this Inquiry by the Dene themselves, the concern expressed by a people for their own survival, if after this, the producers can still suggest that the Dene are opposing the pipeline solely for the purpose of lining their own pockets, is this not the final proof of their inability to see in others any motive beyond that which governs their own actions? Blind and complete allegiance to only one god, Mammon.

To conclude, the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories therefore requests this Inquiry to make the following recommendations to the Government of Canada:

That no permit for a right-of-way to build a pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley be granted prior to the signing and implementation of an agreement between the Dene and the Government of Canada which will ensure the self-determination and survival of the Dene as a people. That concludes my submissions, Mr. Commissioner. Thank you.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,

Mr. Bell.

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MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,



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could we adjourn until 9:30 tomorrow morning, please?

THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
we stand adjourned until 9:30 A.M.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO NOVEMBER 19, 1976)

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